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# THE JOURNAL OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

**VOL. VI**

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**No. 1**

EDITED BY

**U. N. GHOSHAL**

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## Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma

*(From the earliest times to the introduction of  
Theravāda Buddhism in Pagan in 1057).*

By DR. NIHAR-RANJAN RAY.

The story of the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism in Pagan in Upper Burma after the conquest of Thaton by king Anawrahta is well known to all students of Indo-Burmese history and culture. It occurred in the third quarter of the eleventh century, in 1057, to be more exact, when Pagan was fast rising into importance. The year 1057, if we are to believe our available sources, is indeed a significant date in the history of Burma; it marks the starting point of authentic Burmese history. Before this date there is hardly any exact history of the Peninsula; available records speak but very little of the activities of its people prior to this date, and even the scanty information that can be gleaned with difficulty are so wrapped in mist and woven with myths that a reconstruction of the history of that period means but a careful knitting together of some hypothetical guesses confirmed in a very few instances by literary or archaeological evidences. From the Burmese point of view there is in fact little importance attributed to the period prior to Anawrahta's conquest of Thaton; local chronicles



of which we have a very good number from about the fifteenth century onwards dismiss the pre-Pagan period of their accounts in one or two chapters which are but composed of hazy and indefinite half-historical, half-legendary tales thinly interspersed with stray notices of happenings unconnected with one another. The information supplied is meagre, and the sources for the chroniclers who sat down at a much later period to record them down must have been still more so. Events of great importance must have taken place, and the course of history must have been as vigorous and as full of life as it was afterwards, but our sources have hardly any record of them except in stray and meagre, often unintelligible, references. But it is as if by a magic touch that the situation changes with that memorable year of 1057. With the occupation of the Pagan throne by Anawrahta the chronicler becomes infused as it were with new life, his account becomes fuller with details, events begin to move with force and vigour, the narrative becomes more vivid, lively and continuous, information more definite, and his chronicle comes to stand against a more or less reliable background. It is from this date that the chronicles seem to give us a more or less exact history of the Peninsula in matters political, religious and cultural.

Anawrahta's conquest of Thaton (1057) is described in some detail in all the standard chronicles as well as in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, and is rightly given the importance it deserves. The long Kalyāṇī inscriptions however make a short reference, but the reason is obvious, for king Dhammaceti's primary object was to record the history of the Reformation of the Order by himself, and everything else was of secondary importance, coming in only as an introduction to his own great work. The successful march on Thaton is viewed with importance by all later chroniclers, not so much for the actual conquest of the Talaing country and assertion of Burmese supremacy, as for the introduction of Buddhism in its purest form into Upper Burma and the consequent beginning of actual intercourse of Upper Burma

with the outside world. The introduction of the new religion produced a general outburst of faith, and kings and ministers, rich and poor, queens and maids, nobles and commons vied with one another in devoting themselves to works of merit, and to the erection of sacred edifices of diverse plans and styles which stand to this day, in various stages of decay, as silent witnesses to the religious spirit that pervaded the whole country. It is therefore very interesting to read in the chronicles the rapid and dramatic march of events which led to this great awakening of faith and enthusiasm.

Shin Arahan was a young Talaing monk of Thaton, well-versed in the sacred books of Theravāda Buddhism. Burning with the zeal of a fervent proselyte and with the intent of preaching the Law to the people of 'Tampadipa'<sup>1</sup> he came to Pagan, and dwelt in a forest 'not near not far' from the capital. One day he was brought to the capital before Anawrahta, the then reigning monarch of the realm of Pagan.

".....And Anawrahta said, 'Master, of what race art thou? Whence comest thou? Whose doctrines dost thou follow?' And Shin Arahan made answer 'My race is that of the Lord Buddha, possessor of the nine qualities beginning with sanctity, the six glories beginning with Lordship, and the four incomprehensible beginning with intuition. Thou sayest, whose doctrine do I follow? I follow the doctrine of the sermon of authority, most fine, subtle, difficult and profound, preached by the Lord—the Lord Buddha.' And

1. According to a seventeenth century inscription, quoted by Burmese diplomatists in negotiation with the British Government and translated for his Government by Colonel Burney, at that time Resident at Ava, Tampadipa included the districts of Pagan, Ava, Pinya and Myingyan. Yule, *Mission to the Court of Ava. The British Burma Gazetteer*, however, equals Tampadipa with the upper portion of the Theyet district, on the east bank of the Irrawady. (Vol. ii p. 746).

the king was full of joy and rapture, and spake again, entreating him, 'My Lord, preach me somewhat—yea, but a little—of the Law preached by the Lord, the Master.' And Shin Arahan preached the Law.....when he had made an end of preaching the king spake again: 'Where is my Master, the Lord—the Lord Buddha? How much is the sum of the Law preached by the Lord? Liveth there any disciple and son of the Lord save thee, my Master?' "

To all these Shin Arahan made adequate and satisfactory replies.

"And when Anawrahtaminsaw heard the words of Ashin Arahan, he was seized with an ecstasy of faith unbounded, and he said, 'Master, we have no other refuge than thee! From this day forth, my Master, we dedicate our body and our life to thee! And Master, from thee I take my doctrine!' And he built and offered him a monastery in the forest.....When the king and all the people forsook their own opinions and were established in the good Law, the Ari lords lost their gain and honour and bore great hatred against Shin Arahan. And the king fearing that the Ari would practise ill against him, took good heed and appointed guards enough to defeat the thirty Ari lords and their sixty thousands disciples. At that time there came many saints and novices from Thaton, and made saints and ghostly counsellors of those who were faithful in the religion..." (*Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 73-75)

But the religion that Shin Arahan had introduced could not thrive, there being no sacred text in Pagan, for 'without the scriptures there can be no study, without study there can be no intuition.' But where were the scriptures to come from? And Shin Arahan said 'In the country of Thaton are thirty sets, the three Piṭakas in each set. There are also many sacred relics!' So Anawrahta sent a wise minister with a store of gifts and presents to Manuha, the king of Thaton, to beg of him certain sacred texts and relics. But Manuha grew jealous, and 'answered ill': "It is not seemly to send the three Piṭakas and the relics to

such as you, who hold false doctrines—even as the fact of the maned lion can be kept in a bowl of gold and not in a vessel of clay.”<sup>2</sup> It was a direct hint at Anawrahta’s former patronage of the *Samaṇakūṭṭaka* heresy, and an insulting refusal. Anawrahta grew furious and marched on Thaton with a huge force on land and sea, and laid siege to the city. The rest of the story is briefly told. Anawrahta’s men captured Manuha with his family and ministers who were all taken captive to Pagan. But Anawrahta’s objective was still something more than Manuha himself or his kingdom, he wanted scriptures, and learned teachers to explain and preach all that was contained in them. He therefore “brought away the sacred relics which were kept in a jewelled casket and worshipped by a line of kings in Thaton; and he placed the thirty sets of Piṭakas on the king’s thirty-two white elephants and brought them away... Moreover, to the noble Order acquainted with the books of the Piṭakas he made fair appeal and brought them away.”<sup>3</sup> Manuha was perhaps at first treated with consideration and allowed to pass the rest of his days at Myinkābā, in the outskirts of the royal capital, where he built two temples, the Nanpaya which contains his throne room, and the other named and still known after him where there is a colossal figure of the Buddha entering the *parinirvāṇa*. Later on, Anawrahta seems to have dedicated him and his family as slaves to the Shwegigôn pagoda, thus rendering them outcast for ever.<sup>4</sup>

2. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 62. *Sadhammapurindo Manohari nāma rājā pi maccheracitto butvā tumbhādisānaṃ miccādiṭṭhināṃ tñāne piṭakatāyāṃ sariradhātūyus ca paṇiṇitum na yuttā tilokaggassa hi sammāsambuddhassa sāsanaṃ sammādiṭṭhināṃ tñāne yeva patitṭhassati yathā nāma kesarasīharājassa vasā suvaṇṇapāṭiyāṃ yeva na mattikābhājane ti.*

3. *Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 78-79.

4. The *New Chronicle* however denies this, and adduces an interesting reason: ‘Various Chronicles say that Anawrahta dedicated



Shin Arahan had now got all that he wanted to have, and his mission received, as a result, a wonderful fillip. He had now at his service a large band of monks devoted to his cause, and a library of sacred texts<sup>5</sup> at his disposal. The abominable Aris—the heretic Samanakuṭṭakas, as the *Sāsanavaṃsa* would call them—were already at bay; the king with his counsellors and ministers had already been won over; and the field was ready for the Arhanta to sow his seeds. And he lost no time. With the king and the court behind him and all the resources they could command, with the services of a devoted band, but above everything, with the zeal and fervour of a preacher and reformer and the will to win, his work of propagation of the sacred religion of the Śākyamuni went apace till within a very short time he had won thousands of converts to his side. Hundreds came forward to receive ordination, and entered the sacred Order, burning with the zeal and enthusiasm of new converts. At the head of them all, to guide them all was Shin Arahan, the primate of a kingdom daily growing and expanding.

So much for an account of the story of the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism in Pagan in upper Burma. From this account it is evident that in the middle of the eleventh century Theravāda Buddhism had a very flourishing existence in the Ramaññadesa, the land *par excellence* of the Talaings;

Manuha, king of Thaton, to the Shwezigon.....If Manuha was so dedicated his grandson would not have been married to king Narapati's daughter.' The *Sāsanavaṃsa* too seems to suggest that Manuha (or Manohari) was not ungenerously treated by Anawrahta. (pp. 63-64) See also Forchammer's *Report*, Jan., 1891, pp. 7-8.

5. The Scriptures that were brought from Thaton were all housed by Anawrahta in a library hall specially built for the purpose. This building known as the Bidagataik (= Tripitaka taik or Tripitaka library), an edifice of wooden origins, stands to this day amidst the jungle of ruins of Pagan.

and its capital Thaton<sup>6</sup> "in the land of Thudammawadi (=Sudhammavati)"<sup>7</sup> swarmed with hundreds of monks who lived in monasteries that must have housed libraries containing not only the books of "the Three Piṭakas but also the Four Books of Divination"<sup>8</sup>

".....And the king of Arimaddanapura, having possession of king Manuha, took away the saintly monks, who were full of learning and piety; he took away the monks who knew the Three Scriptures and the Four Books of Divination.....he took them all to the land of Arimaddana (Pagan)."<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, the kings of Thaton were

"famous and mighty kings, and who upheld the religion of the Lord; all the people followed the command of almsgiving and all other commands of righteousness."<sup>10</sup>

There were in Thaton also different orders of monks besides the one to which Shin Arahan himself belonged.

"And thou hast asked—Is there any monk of the Order, save myself, a disciple of the Lord? Yea, verily; besides myself there are the Paramattha Order and Samuti Order."<sup>11</sup>

Pāli as the language of the religious texts must have been known there and understood by the entire body of monks and at least by a section of the lay people; Pāli literature, mainly canonical and commentarial, was also presumably more or less widely read. It is evident that this reputation of Thaton as a centre of the religion of the Buddha was not built in a day; it must have taken some-time to be able to share the glory she owned with Kāñcī-

6. Thaton was anciently known as Sudhammapura or Sudhammanagara. (Taw Sein Ko, "Preliminary Study of the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions," *Ind. Ant.* Vol. xxii, p. 17).

7. *Paklat Talaing Chronicle*.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. Hmannan, I, 252.

11. *The Glass Palace Chronicle* (Hmannan), p. 74.

puram and Kāveripattanam in South India on the one hand and Ceylon on the other, which incidentally, were the three other contemporary centres of Theravāda Buddhism. We may, therefore, start with the assumption that Theravāda Buddhism was introduced into Suvannabhūmi, the land of the Mons or Talaings, at least several centuries earlier, and gradually established itself not only at Thaton, but also at other places in Lower Burma.

But at the same time it must also be borne in mind that all our sources of information regarding Anawrahta's sack of Thaton and consequent introduction of Theravāda Buddhism in Upper Burma—the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, the *Hmannan* and other Burmese chronicles—belong to a much later date. In fact the Kalyāṇī inscriptions are the earliest dateable record alluding to this important historical event, and these inscriptions cannot be dated earlier than the 15th century. In recent years quite a large number of inscriptions from Pagan in Mon, Pyu and Burmese and dateable from the 10th to the 14th century, have been discovered and deciphered, and it is strange that not even one of them contains any reference to this important and glorious historical event—glorious from the Pagan point of view. Indeed the omission is so significant as to lead one to doubt the authenticity of the whole story as contained in the later inscriptions and chronicles. No dialectical ingenuity is good and convincing enough to explain the silence of the host of contemporary and almost contemporary records of Pagan kings and the nobility to whose credit must have been due the vigorous religious and cultural drive that we witness in Pagan during the reign of the Anawrahta dynasty. Yet one must account for the deluge of lithic records pervaded by the unmistakable spirit of Buddhism, the countless number of temples, *stūpas*, monasteries, all dedicated to that noble faith and containing images of gods and goddesses belonging to the Buddhist pantheon, that suddenly begin to crop up at Pagan onwards from the eleventh century. One cannot help feeling that this sudden outburst must have been due

to some outside contact, some achievement that brought Pagan in touch with the march of a civilised and cultured life unknown to these northern barbarians who had swooped from their hilly retreats on to the torrid plains of the upper Irrawady. And strangest of all strange things, the Pagan records do not make any mention of any such contact, any such historic upheaval, and pity it is that one has to fall back upon an explanation contained in records that are at least four centuries later than actual events. But it is almost impossible not to admit that these records, though late, offer on the whole a trustworthy and perhaps convincing explanation.

*The problem ahead*

The difficult but interesting question now arises: When did Lower Burma, the land of the Pyus, and of the Mons, adopt for the first time the faith of Theravāda Buddhism, and which are the traces of its footprints during its course through centuries since its first adoption in the Peninsula? Are we to accept or reject the tradition, so insistent in Burma, of the Asoka mission of Soṇa and Uttara to Suvāṇṇabhūmi? Should we rely or not on the later tradition that makes Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist encyclopaedist, a monk of Thaton which he is said to have made the centre of his missionary activities in the Peninsula, or credits him to have brought a complete set of the Buddhist scriptures from Ceylon to Thaton in the 5th century A. D.? Have there been brought to light any new facts or factors, hitherto unknown, that prove, more or less definitely, the existence of Theravāda Buddhism in any part of Burma prior to the middle of the eleventh century? It is on a satisfactory answer to these and other similar questions that depends the reconstruction of an account of the early history of Buddhism in Burma. I shall therefore proceed to examine one by one such facts and problems as may be expected to throw some light on our subject of investigation.



*The method followed*

In trying to find answers to the questions just stated the method will be to trace our steps backwards. We shall first try to find the state of Buddhism in the first half of the eleventh century in the neighbouring kingdoms of Thaton, e.g., in Pegu, and then tracing backwards try to establish from archæological evidences, the existence of the Religion in the old kingdom of Prome from c. 600 to 900 A. D. Our next step will be to further corroborate the fact of the flourishing existence of the religion in the kingdom of Prome during this period with the help of Chinese literary evidence of more than one source. We shall next try to push the story of the religion earlier still and establish from epigraphical evidence of most definite and unquestionable character, that Buddhism in its most abstruse doctrinal and philosophical aspects was known and practised in the capital of Prome as early as c. 450 A. D. This will naturally lead us to an examination of the Buddhaghosa tradition which is even to-day very strong in Lower Burma, and which does not seem altogether inadmissible. Our next step will lead us earlier still, to the middle of the 3rd. century A. D., when Buddhism was being practised in a country known in almost contemporary Chinese chronicles as Lin-yang which I propose to identify with a place in Burma. My final step will be to examine the tradition of the Asoka-mission of Soṇa and Uttara to Suvāṇṇabhūmi in about 250 B. C. The conclusions I shall arrive at will be summarised at the end of the chapter.

## I

## BUDDHISM IN PEGU, c. 1000-1050.

The account of the conquest of Thaton, as we have just seen, is evidence enough of the very flourishing existence of Buddhism in the middle of the eleventh century in the realm of king Manuha where presumably the religion had been in practice for a very long time. Equally flourishing

condition seems to have prevailed in the neighbouring kingdom of Pegu. But Buddhism was not the only religion in the realm of the kings of Pegu, as it was neither in Thaton. Brahmanical Hinduism was a strong rival in Thaton as well as in Pegu and elsewhere, where it sometimes claimed homage and patronage from the reigning kings; and the two religions at times even came into conflict with one another. The tradition of such a conflict is preserved in the *Slapat Rajawan*, a local Burmese chronicle. There is much of legendary element in the story which I reproduce at some length below, but to any careful reader its historical value is obvious. The story which relates itself to king Tissa of Pegu, assigned according to local or Burmese reckoning to the middle of the eleventh century (1043-57), affords a key to the position of Buddhism in Pegu during his reign, and shows how it was sometimes persecuted; but that is obviously an attempt of the chroniclers who were all Buddhists of a much later date at proving the superiority of the religion they themselves professed.

"Tissa was a heretic king of Pegu. He ... made no obeisance to Buddha, to the Law he hearkened not, he honoured the Brāhmaṇas. He threw down the images of the Buddha and cast them away into ditches and marshes.

"Now there was a certain merchant's daughter who clung to true religion. Bhadrādevī was this maiden's name. From her tenth year she went out to listen with her parents and hearkened continually to the Law. She had exceeding great joy in the Three Gems (Triratna). Daily she said the Three Names of Refuge (*Buddha, Dhamma, Saṃgha*) with care. And it came to pass that the time when she was in her first youth was the time when the king cast down the images of the Buddha. At that time the maiden went down to bathe, and by chance she thrust her hand against an image of Buddha. And she drew it up and it glistened with gold. She asked, 'who has caused this image to be cast away?' And the old slave-woman made answer, 'Lady, this king follows the word of false teachers. Verily it is

the king who has caused this image of Buddha to be cast away? Whoever greets, honours or bows before Buddha at the pagodas, him the king causes to be slain and to be brought to naught'. Thus said the slave-woman. When the maiden had heard their words, she spake on this wise, 'I obey the Three Gems. I can endure death. First wash the image clean, then set it up at a pagoda.' She herself and the slave-woman washed it and set it up at a pagoda.

"Now as she was setting up the image, these things were told to the king. And he sent runners to call her. The maiden, that ring adorned with gems beyond price, spoke to the king's runners saying, 'Let me abide here before the image.' And she made haste to wash every image of Buddha as many as were there, and to set them up every one. And, after a time he sent more runners. When the maiden came before him, she spake unto him. But he listened with anger and spake in this wise, 'Take her to the elephants that they may trample her to death.' Then the maiden caused gentleness to soften the king and the elephants and the elephant-men, and continually she said, 'I take refuge in the Lord' and she called on the Three Names of Refuge. And the elephant dared not tread on her, but he roared with his voice, neither could the elephant-men make him run at her.....So men told the king in fear. When the king heard these things, he spake in this wise, 'Cover her with straw for the funeral pyre. But the maiden caused gentleness to work again, and she called on the Three Names of Refuge. Men stirred themselves to burn her, yet she burned not. So they told the king in fear. Thus spake the king, and he said, 'O maiden, when I see the image of Buddha, thy teacher fly up into heaven, then mayest thou live. But if from the image of thy teacher there fly not up seven images, eight images, I will have thee cut into seven pieces.' And he had her led to the foot of the ditch.....and she prayed on this wise, 'O image of the Lord of Bliss! I, thy hand-maiden, set up thy images. Buddha is lord everywhere, his Law is lord everywhere, his *Saṃgha* is lord

everywhere. As Buddha, his Law, his church are everywhere lord, so may eight images of Buddha fly up into heaven at the king's hall.' And in the twinkling of an eye there flew eight images up into heaven...towards the king's hall. And the maiden returned and pointed it out to the king.....Then said the maiden 'O earthly king, Buddha my teacher is gone to Nirvāṇa. Thou hast been able to see only his images fly up into heaven in his stead. Thou hast followed false teachers and called them better. Let thy hand-maiden see them fly up.' Then the king commanded them to fly. But the false teachers could not fly. And the king drove them away...and he caused the maiden to bathe, and he raised her to be his chief queen.....and he returned thanks and followed true religion over after.'"<sup>12</sup>

Thenceforth Tissa became a faithful follower of Buddhism and proved himself to be a patron of the Faith. Here is another passage, from another chronicle :

"In Benares land there was an ancient pagoda on the top of the river Ganges' bank. When the bank was washed away men picked up the relics and holy images that had been enshrined there, and gave them to their children to play, for there was no longer anyone to worship them. Now Nga Dula, a ship's captain, saw this, and he thought, 'The folk of the east country deem these images divine and worship them. I shall get gain if I sell them to the folk of east country,' So he bought them for a fitting price and came with them to the landing stage at Pegu.....Men told king Tissa....and he rewarded Nga Dula richly and ennobled him.'"<sup>13</sup>

Incidentally it gives an idea of the attitude of the Peguan people towards Buddhist images; they considered these images divine and worshipped them.

12. Schmidt, *Slapat Ragawan datow smin ron. Buch des Ragawan, des Königsgeschichte*, Vienna, 1906.

13. *Shwemadaw Thamaing*.



## II

## BUDDHISM IN OLD PROME, C. 600-950

*Archaeological Evidence.*

It is a pleasure to turn from such hazy and indistinct literary references of doubtful historical value to evidences archæological which are more direct and definite. They tend to prove that besides Thaton and Pegu, Buddhism was an established religion also in the old kingdom of Prome. Moreover, these evidences take us back at least four centuries earlier than one thousand A. D. when we have more or less definite evidence of the existence of Buddhism in Pegu and Thaton.

Such archæological evidences consist in a number of ancient monuments, *stūpas* and rectangular temples, at Hmawza, a village full of ruins five miles to the south of the modern town of Prome, and a good number of stone and bronze images, inscribed terracotta votive tablets and reliquaries discovered at the same locality and belonging definitely to the Buddhist creed. But before we can turn to a consideration of these archæological documents it is necessary to take notice of the few faint lines of political history of the kingdom of Prome during the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth centuries to which period the large majority of the monuments, sculptures, bronzes, terracotta tablets etc., just referred to, may be assigned, stylistically and palæographically.

Besides casual references in the chronicles of the T'ang dynasty to the eighteen vassal states of P'iao and thirty-two different settlements (to which we shall have occasion to refer in detail), there has been discovered at Hmawza a number of epigraphs in the little known Pyu language inscribed on stone and earthenware funeral urns recording the names of certain kings of Prome whose names end in 'varman' and 'vikrama.' The first set of these names were found recorded in a number of inscriptions on several such urns recovered in 1911-13 from an ancient vault near

the Payagi pagoda; these inscriptions record the names of kings Sūriyavikrama, Harivikrama and Sihavikrama, evidently of Hmawza, who ruled according to Dr. Blagden, the learned editor of these inscriptions, presumably in the seventh and eighth centuries A. D.<sup>14</sup> The second set of names which, by the way, happens to be the names of a king Śrī Prabhuvarmā and his queen Śrī Prabhudevī were found recorded in another one line Pyu epigraph inscribed around the lower rim of a votive *stūpa*. This *stūpa*, it should be mentioned, has another line of Pāli inscription around the rim of the top of the cover, in a script which has long been recognised by M. Finot for the first time,<sup>15</sup> to have very close affinities with the Kadamba script (Kannaḍa-Telugu, according to Bühler) of South India, of the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. The significance of Pāli epigraphs in this particular script will be discussed in a succeeding section; for the present we shall confine ourselves to the importance of these Pyu epigraphs with special reference to their bearing on the subject of our study.

The name-ending 'varman' led M. Duroiselle very naturally to surmise<sup>16</sup> that the ruling dynasty or dynasties apparently of Indian blood, had their original home somewhere in South India, evidently in the Cola-Pallava country where royal dynasties with name-endings in 'varman' were rather common; in fact, the kings of the Pallava dynasty had their name-endings in 'varman'. There were also reasons for assuming that there were two ruling dynasties, a 'varman' (e.g. Śrī Prabhuvarman) and a 'vikrama' dynasty<sup>17</sup>

14. Blagden, *Ep. Ind.* VII. pp. 127-32.

15. Finot, "Un nouveau document sur le buddhisme birman," *J.A.*, XX, Juil-Aout, 1912-27, pp. 121 ff.

16. *An. R.A.S.I.*, 1926-27, p. 172 and plate XXXVIII, c. These inscriptions have not yet been edited, but a short notice appeared in above.

17. The kings of the South-Indian Kadamba dynasty had their

(e.g. Sūrīyavikrama, Harīvikrama, etc.), both having their original home in South India. A long inscription, not in Pyu or Pāli, but in Sanskrit and interspersed with Pyu words and phrases which are nothing but translations of the Sanskrit version, in clear north-eastern Gupta Brāhmī script of about the sixth and seventh centuries was very recently recovered from the ruins of the old city.<sup>18</sup> This record is important from more than one point of view, supplying as it does a definite starting-point in the political history of old Prome and a considerable amount of information on the contemporary history of Buddhism in the capital city. Moreover, it contributes substantially to the elucidation of the origin of the Pyu script.

It may now definitely be stated that the Pyu script is nothing but a local adaptation of the Indian Brāhmī script; and so far as the evidence of the few inscriptions discovered up to date may help us to ascertain, it seems that this adaptation took place sometime about the fifth century A.D.; for Pyu alphabets and numerals show a very close resemblance with those of Brāhmī of the Gupta period. But it is not yet possible definitely to ascertain whether it was the north-eastern or southern Brāhmī that served as the source for the newly-evolved script, though it may be pointed out that the elongated character of the alphabets is more southern than north-eastern.<sup>19</sup>

name-endings in "vikrama." Cf. the *nigamana* of the *Abbidhammāvatāra* of Buddhaddatta who was a native of Uragapura (Uraiyur) and flourished during the reign of king Acyutavikrānta or Acyuta-vikrama.

18. This important record, the first of its kind in Burma, is still unpublished. But the courtesy of Mr. K. N. Dikshit of the Archaeological Survey of India, has enabled me to study the record, a summary of the results of which I am incorporating here. I acknowledge Mr. Dikshit's kindness and courtesy with thanks. A notice of the inscription appears, however, in *An. R.A. S.I.* 1927-28, pp. 128, 145.

19. For my preliminary reading of the Sanskrit text of the

*A Buddhist Dynasty of Kings.*

The epigraph alluded to above is inscribed on the four sides of the pedestal of a torso of a Buddha image seated in *dhyānamudrā* and *vajraparyāṅka* attitude. Stylistically the image is definitely of late Gupta tradition, and may safely be ascribed to exactly the same period as determined by the palæography of the inscription. The record in beautiful Sanskrit verse seems to have been set up by king Jayacandra Varman at the instance of his religious teacher (Ārya) with the express purpose of establishing and enhancing peace, amity and good-will, it seems, between Jayacandra Varman, the king, and his younger brother (*tasyānuja*) Harivikrama who built two cities (*puradvayam*), evidently side by side, and one for each, even in one day (*ekaiḥdivase*). The import of the record allows us to arrive at some tentative conclusions: *first*, there presumably have existed some rivalry between the two brothers Jayacandravarman and Harivikrama, and the elder Jayacandravarman was advised to put an end to it by providing two cities, one for each, from where they ruled, probably side by side and contemporaneously, so that there could be no loss of peace and good-will between the two brothers. *Secondly*, Jayacandravarman and Harivikrama both belonged to one and the same dynasty, not to two different dynasties by reason of their having had different name-endings, though it is possible that they had branched off in two different lines and ruled separately. There was thus no 'vikrama' or 'varman' dynasty in Prome as hitherto assumed. The different sets of names so far known of this Indianised dynasty of Prome can be provisionally arranged, in the light of the above assumption, in the following way:

inscription, and a rough English rendering, see Appendix to this chapter.

*First line.**Second line.*

...	...	...	...	...	Sūriyavikrama (688 A.D. ?)
Jayacandravarman	<i>tasyānuja</i>	Harivikrama	(695 ?)		
Śrī Prabhuvarma	(n)	...	Sihavikrama	(718 ?)	
Śrī Prabhudevī.					

*Thirdly*, the dynasty seems to have migrated not from South India but from the north, more particularly from north-eastern India. This is proved not only by the script of the inscription which is north-eastern Brāhmī of the Gupta period, but by the art-tradition as well of the Buddha image round whose pedestal the epigraph is inscribed, and further by the language and creed of the inscription. But I must confess that this point cannot be pressed too far, in view of the better and stronger possibility of a royal dynasty having migrated from South India.

*Fourthly*, and this is important from our point of view, the dynasty to which these 'varman' and 'vikrama' kings belonged was evidently a Buddhist dynasty. This is proved firstly by the Pyu inscription round the silver-gilt reliquary *stūpa*, referred to above on which there are images *repoussé* in high relief of the four last Buddhas, with their names inscribed in Kadamba script, respectively below them.<sup>20</sup> They are Konagamana, Kakusandha, Kassapa and Gotama with their attendants Kasab (Kassapa), Maulāna (Moggalāna), Sāri (Sāriputta) and ..... da (Ānanda), the four disciples of the Buddha. It is significant that the names are given in their Pāli form, and that these names are followed by a short extract consisting of what seems to be words taken from Pāli scriptures. The characters of the record suggest that the source of inspiration of the subject of the record was the Pallava-Kadamba region of South India. This is also strikingly confirmed by a stylistic consideration of the images moulded in high relief on the *stūpa*; they belong to an

20. It is unfortunate that these inscriptions have not yet been edited, nor their contents made known in any detail. For short notices, however, see *An. R.A.S.I.*, 1926-27, p. 172-73.



art-tradition having remarkably Pallava affinities. A further and more definite evidence of their cult is provided by the Sanskrit inscription round the pedestal of the Buddha image just referred to above. As the record was set up by the king himself who chose the pedestal of a Buddha image for inscribing his historic record, it may be assumed that Jayacandravarman and his dynasty professed the Buddhist faith. The kingdom of Prome was thus ruled over during, roughly speaking, the seventh and eighth centuries by an Indianised Buddhist dynasty of kings ; and it was presumably under the aegis of this dynasty that the majority of the monuments of the old capital of the Prome kingdom were probably built, sculptures executed, bronzes cast and terracotta tablets moulded.

### *Short Pāli Epigraphs.*

Among other Pāli records relating to Theravāda Buddhism may be mentioned a few tablets in which is inscribed the well-known Buddhist formula of the extolment of the qualities of the Buddha beginning with "*iti pi so bhagavā araham* ..... etc."<sup>21</sup> We shall see later on that this formula is inscribed on a number of Pāli records recovered from old Prome. Besides such records, there have also been recovered from the debris of ruins of the old city a small number of terracotta votive tablets with the popular Buddhist formula "*ye dhammā hetuppabhavā* ..... etc." in Pāli inscribed almost invariably in nāgarī characters of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. Such tablets with the formula in Pāli in similar characters but palæographically somewhat later in date (belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries) have also been picked up from the ruins of old Prome and Pagan. But they all seem to have

21. For a short notice of these records, see *An. R.A.S.I.*, 1927-28, p. 145.

been locally copied to order from Sanskrit originals. Of such Sanskrit epigraphs recording the Buddhist formula in nāgarī script we have literally a deluge both from old Prome and Pagan as well as from other sites, for example, from Sameikshe near Thazi. These tablets were generally deposited, probably as relics inside the relic chamber housed within the shrines and was also sometimes used by wandering devotees as moving shrines, a practice still not unknown among wandering preachers. Exactly similar tablets with the Buddhist formula inscribed in Sanskrit have been found in large numbers in eastern India, at Sārnāth, Bodhgayā, Nālandā and other places; and not in a few instances the tablets found in Burma were bodily carried over by Indian emigrants to Burma and by Burmese pilgrims who came to pay homage at the sacred sites sanctified by association with the Master.

This well-known and oft-quoted Buddhist formula, we shall see later on, is also quoted as the opening extract in two gold plates bearing Pāli epigraphs and discovered at Maunggan, near Hmawza. These epigraphs may palæographically be dated in the 5th-6th centuries A. D., and here we find probably the earliest epigraphic record of the formula in Pāli, and perhaps the only genuine and independent reproduction of the formula in that language, no doubt shorn of its context, otherwise than in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*<sup>22</sup> where it is described to have been uttered in a two-line verse in Ārya metre by Assaji to Sāriputta at which the spotless eye of the doctrine of causation arose in the latter.<sup>23</sup> Thus runs the verse :

*Ye dhammāhetuppabhavā tesam hetum tathāgato āha  
Tesañ ca yo nirodho evamvādi mahāsamaṇo ti*

22. P.T.S. edn. *Mahāvagga* I, 24, 2.

23. There is also a very short reference to this legend in the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātakas*.

Of things that proceed from a cause, their cause the Tathāgata has spoken, and also the cessation which is of them: thus is the teaching of the great Śāmana or ascetic.

The formula does not occur anywhere else in the Pāli Piṭakas: and in the *Vinaya*, the verse formula at least if not the entire legend of Assaji and Sāriputta which incorporates the verse, has been rightly suggested to be a later interpolation.<sup>24</sup> The Pāli formula certainly corresponds to the Sanskrit verse

*Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetunteṣām Tathāgato*

*hyāvadatteṣāṃ ca yo nirodho evamvādi mahāśramaṇaḥ*

which is found not only in the *Mahāvastu* (III, p. 461) but at the end of almost all important Sanskrit Buddhist works of the northern school, though it is difficult to trace in any of these texts the legend of Aśvajit and Sāriputra. This formula in Sanskrit, we have already pointed out, is also inscribed in a number of Buddhist votive tablets and images in north-eastern India. The verse formula, therefore, seems to have become more popular with the northern Buddhists who hardly knew anything of the Aśvajit-Sāriputta story as the Pāli *Vinaya* knows it.<sup>25</sup> This is indeed curious, and somewhat difficult to explain. My suspicion is that the formula originally arose in the northern school, independent of any legend whatsoever, at least a few centuries after Gotama the Buddha had lived and preached, and was incorporated later on by pious editors and com-

24. E. J. Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, 1927, p. 94, n. I; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*, 1931, pp. 135-36.

25. The *Mahāvastu*, a text of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Lokottaravādins gives the story of the conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna almost in the same way as that of the Pāli *Vinaya*; but in the place of Assaji we have Bhikkhu Upasena at whose first words, light entered Sāriputta's mind. It shows probably how the *Mahāvastu* drew upon the earlier Pāli *Vinaya*, just as the Pāli *Nidāna Kāṭhā* drew also upon the same Pāli *Vinaya*.

plers of the Pāli canonical texts, into the Mahāvagga story of the conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. This explains to a certain extent, I think, the wide and immense popularity of the formula with the northern Buddhists who knew it, independent of any legend, as a versified expression of the essence of the Buddhist doctrine or gospel of causation.

All we have said above is by way of a digression, just to ascertain the probable source of origin of the formula. As to the formula in Pāli as quoted in the Maunggan plates, it is possible that it was reproduced directly from the Pāli *Vinaya Piṭaka* for, other portions of the records reveal intimate knowledge of the other two *Piṭakas* as well, and as the script is South-Indian, there is certainly much to be said in favour of our assumption. But with regard to the terracotta votive tablets of Old Prome and Pagan on which the formula is inscribed, it seems that it was, though the language is sometimes Pāli, copied locally to order, as already suggested, from Sanskrit originals inscribed on similar tablets.

#### *Buddhist sculptures, etc.*

Among other archæological documents of old Prome that may more or less definitely be said to belong to the *Theravāda* faith may be taken into account some fragments of stone sculptures depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha. Such sculptures though not so numerous, are nevertheless unearthed from time to time; and some of them are really interesting from the view-point of Buddhist iconography. One such is a scene carved on a piece of stone representing the well-known story of the Buddha about to partake of the food offered him by the two merchants Trapusha and Bhallika which is detailed not only in the *Jātakas*, but in the *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistara* as well. Following this story and connected with it in an inseparable way is that of the four *Loṇapāla devas* who brought four stone bowls from which the Master was

to eat the food offered by the two merchants. This story is depicted in another relief in which the Buddha is represented as seated in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* on a lotus pedestal, and on his left is placed what seems to be an alms-bowl. He is flanked by four standing personages, two on either side, and each of them holding a bowl in both hands. Presumably they are the four *Loṇapāla devas* in the act of offering bowls to the Buddha.<sup>26</sup> What also seems to be a Jātaka story is represented on a plaque where the main figure is dressed in crowns and armlets as a Prince and is seated cross-legged on a lion throne with his hands in *dhyānamudrā*. He is flanked by two standing figures turned towards him; that on the proper left is, as if it were, in the act of striking with a club held in both hands, the other on the right seems to be scratching the prince's arm. It is tempting to identify the scene as a representation of the *Mugherpakṣha Jātaka*.<sup>27</sup> On another terracotta votive tablet<sup>28</sup> the Buddha is flanked by two figures on each side, those to the right are in monkish dress, and to the left in secular dress. Below them are represented six persons three on each side of what seems to be the *dharmacakra*. Lower below are two gazelles flanking the wheel of Law which helps us at once to locate the scene at the Deer Park or *mṛgadāva* of Benares; and if the five figures to the right are all monks, the scene must refer itself to the story of the first five converts of the Master, the *Pañcavaggiya bhikkhus*. There are also other fragments of stone and terracotta which depict the main scenes in the life of the Master. Such examples and numerous others mostly in stone and terracotta which represent the Buddha in one or other of his traditional *mudrās* and *āsanas* and with or without his disciples and attendants, may stylistically be said

26. *An. R.A.S.I.*, 1927-28, p. 129; for two other scenes in the Buddha's career, *Ibid*, pp. 130, 131, plate LV. figs. 4 and 10.

27. *An. R.A.S.I.*, 1926-27, p. 171.

28. *Ibid*, 1909-10, p. 123, plate XLIX fig. 8.



to derive their inspiration from the familiar Gupta tradition of eastern India, and ascribed on the same consideration to a period ranging from the sixth to about the ninth century of the Christian era. They are indubitable proofs of the existence of Buddhism in the old kingdom of Prome during these centuries.

Some of the Buddha images in stone—and there is a good number of them, fairly large in size—are frankly works of local artists and craftsmen. Such examples are almost invariably seated in *paryāṅkāśana* with the right hand in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* and the left placed on the lap and holding an almsbowl. This limited and orthodox iconographic type may perhaps be said to afford some argument for these images to be considered as belonging to the orthodox or Theravāda school, an assumption which is supported not only by their facial and physiognomical features, distinctly local as opposed to Indian, but also by the stylised rendering of the artistic and iconographic type traditionally inherited from the Indian Masters. One such image can still be seen carved in a large slab of stone<sup>29</sup> (8' 2" × 6' 3" × 1' 3") in the Bebe pagoda which is a small square building surmounted by a pyramidal roof in three stages superimposed by a *śikhara*. The Buddha is seated in *paryāṅkāśana* and is flanked by two figures seated cross-legged with aureole round their heads, their hands raised to the chest and clasped in adoration. They are evidently disciples. But what is interesting in this piece of sculpture is to see the Buddha's left hand, not the right, in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, and the right placed on the lap and holding the almsbowl. This one example is evidence enough to show how the local craftsmen while translating on stone the first lessons in iconography they received from their Indian teachers made mistakes that obviously the local converts did not consider grave. Another example of similar figures—the iconography is, however, quite correct

29. *Ibid.*, 1909-10, p. 120, fig. 3 on p. 121.

in these instances—may be seen sculptured in groups on a large rectangular slab of stone<sup>30</sup> from the Yahāndāgu pagoda. Eight images here sit cross-legged in a row, all with their right hand in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* and the left placed on the lap and holding an almsbowl. The schematic curls of the hair are treated in mass; and the *saṅghātī* is indicated only by its edges as also by the fold treated in mass that hangs from the left shoulder. Figures of Buddha of similar iconographic type but belonging probably to a different artistic tradition may be seen at the Lemyethnā temple, also another small rectangular structure whose roof is supported by a heavy masonry four-sided pillar in the centre. Facing the cardinal points there appear originally to have been slabs of stone, with figure sculptures executed on them in bold relief, embedded in the square pillar. Two only of these slabs, those on the south and west, remain; that on the south bears on it an image of the Buddha represented as seated cross-legged on a throne with what seem to be three flower vases in front.<sup>31</sup> The sculpture has suffered so badly that the image has lost its head, and the two accessory figures flanking him, portions of their body as well. The right hand of the principal figure is placed on the right knee with the palm down and the fingers raised upwards which probably suggests that it is in what may be called *varadamudrā*. The standing figure on the right is probably that of a male, and that on the left of a female, but it is difficult to identify them owing to their very bad state of preservation. On the stone facing west the Buddha is flanked not by two human figures but by two *caityas*, and is provided with an aureole round the head. It is, moreover, seated on a lotus throne “with the feet, not the legs, crossing each other, thus showing the sole of one foot, that is the right foot which is placed just above the other, instead of both soles. The left hand is placed on the lap, but the

30. *Ibid.*, 1909-10, Plate LI.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 120, pl. XLVII, fig. 6.

right hand instead of being placed over the right leg with the fingers pointing to the earth and the palm inward, is stretched out and placed over the right knee."<sup>32</sup> Duroiselle has rightly suggested an iconographical affinity of this type with the Buddha images of Amarāvati in South India;<sup>33</sup> and, I think, that his assumption is supported by artistic considerations as well.

### *Buddhist monuments*

Now, coming to a consideration of the monuments, we can ascertain at once, from what we have just noticed, that the Bebe, Lemyethnā and Yahāndāgu temples were all dedicated to the worship of the Buddha, and judged from their sculptures these temples cannot be assigned to a date later than seventh century A. D. It is possible further to assume tentatively from a consideration of the art and iconography of the images that these temples were mainly patronised by the followers of the Theravāda school of Buddhism. And, if the Pāli stone inscription fragments found from the debris of ruins of the railings and base of the Bawbawgyi *stūpa* had originally formed part of monument itself, then we can possibly count more or less definitely the Bawbawgyi also as one of the many religious foundations of the Theravādins at Hmawza. Other monuments such as the east Zegu temple, the Mahtaw village *stūpa*, the Payagyi and Payma *stūpas*, etc. were also definitely dedicated to the worship of the religion of the Master. The figure sculptures attached to such temples and terracotta votive tablets recovered from the relic chambers or from the debris of ruins of some of these temples are definitely of north-Indian tradition, and not unoften have

32. *An. R.A.S.I.*, 1924-25, p. 26, Plate III, fig. 2.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

inscriptions on them in early eastern *nāgarī* characters. To select one example at random, the main image (2' 8" × 1' 6½") of the (east) Zegu temple is one of the Buddha seated in cross-legged fashion with an aureole round his head. He is flanked by two crowned and well-dressed figures—probably Bodhisattvas—each carrying a *caurī*. The right forearm which seems to have been in the attitude of preaching is missing as also the face; the palm of the left hand is, however, placed on the knee. Below is the Wheel of the Law flanked by two gazelles on either side of which are two worshippers evidently in the attitude of adoration. The scene probably relates itself to the *dharmacakra pravarttana* at the Deer Park of Benares. This piece of sculpture<sup>34</sup> plainly derives its style from the familiar Gupta work of Northern India. "It can hardly be assigned to a later date" says Sir John Marshall, "that the seventh century A. D., and may be earlier".

And, it is strange that from what have up-to-date been recovered by research and exploration in inscriptions, sculptures and bronzes from the site of the old capital, it becomes apparent that the relations of the Pyu kingdom with north-eastern India were much more frequent than with South India, and the influences from the former in art, iconography and religion much more overwhelming than from the latter. This is a fact that has hardly yet been recognised, and even as late as 1925, M. Duroiselle opined that the school of sculpture at old Prome 'was influenced mostly by South India'.<sup>35</sup> Though it is not the place to go into a detailed discussion of the question, it should, however, be pointed out that M. Duroiselle's contention is not borne out by the finds up till now made at Hmawza. In fact, among sculptures of which a large collection has been made in recent years there is not more than a dozen that may definitely be said to betray South-Indian in-

34. An. R.A.S.I., 1909-10, Plate XL VII, Fig. 4, p. 116.

35. An. R.A.S.B., 1924-25, p. 27.

fluence whereas there has been picked up a countless number of stone sculptures and terracotta tablets that frankly derive their style from the familiar later Gupta sculptures of north-eastern India. In inscriptions as well, without in any way underestimating the value in this respect of the Pāli records in South-Indian script, one can point out that the importance of the long Sanskrit inscription recovered from Kān-wet-khaung-kôn and the numberless votive tablets with Sanskrit epigraphs, all in north-east-Indian script, is not much the less. A systematic study of the monuments of Prome is yet to be made, but here also as elsewhere, we may point out that not only the *stūpas* like the Bawbawgyi but also the rectangular edifices like the Bebe betray north-east-Indian traits as revealed respectively in the contemporary Dhamak *stūpa* of Sarnath and replicas of rectangular temples with *śikhara*s sculptured on some of the reliefs of Bihar and Bengal, no doubt of a later date.

The sculptures and monuments referred to above by no means exhaust even a fraction of what the old site of the ruined capital has yielded to archæological research and exploration. It has been possible for us to take notice of only a few just to show that with very few lithic records and reliable chronicles at our disposal, these sculptures, bronzes, terracotta tablets and monuments constitute in fact the main, if not the only data for rewriting the very little known account of the early history of Buddhism in Burma. The main conclusion as revealed by a study of these documents is now well determined, and it may be stated that Buddhism during the several centuries from the sixth to at least the tenth was a popular and flourishing religion in the capital city of the old kingdom of Prome, and obviously at other centres of the kingdom as well, expressing itself in numerous monuments, votive tablets and images in stone and bronze, and deriving its inspiration not only from south India but from north-eastern India as well.



## III

## BUDDHISM IN OLD PROME (Contd.)

C. 675—700 A. D.

What we conclude from archæological evidence is strikingly corroborated by Chinese literary sources of the period. The most important evidence in this respect is supplied by the itinerary of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim I-ching. But it seems most unfortunate to the student of the history of Buddhism and the different Buddhist schools that this devoted scholar of the religion who travelled from China to India *via* the ancient kingdom of Śrīvijaya by sea, and spent twenty-five years (671-695) abroad interesting himself in the study of Buddhism could find no opportunity to visit any of the regions bordering the sea-coast of Burma or situated at some distance to the interior. But if he could not actually visit any country in Burma, as he could not also most of the islands of the Malay archipelago and countries of Indo-China of which he speaks nevertheless,<sup>36</sup> he certainly took pains to learn about the state of the religion in all these countries lying to the east of the Bay. That he succeeded at least to some extent is proved by a note in his *Nan hai chi kuei nai fa ch'nan* (ch. I, f. 3, verso).

“At the (eastern) extremity (of the eastern frontier countries, i.e. East India) there is the so-called ‘Great Black’ mountain, which is, I think, on the southern boundary of Tu-fan (Tibet, according to Takakusu). This mountain is said to be on the south-west of Shu-Chuan (Ssu-Ch’uan) from which one can reach this mountain after a journey of a month or so. Southward from this and close to the sea-coast there is a country called Śrīkṣetra (Shih-li-ch’a-ta-lo); on the South-east of this is Laṅkāsu (Lang-chia-shu); on the east of this is Dvā (rā) pati (She-ho-po-ti); at the extreme

36 Takakusu, *I-tsing's Records of the Buddhist Religion*, pp. 8-11.

east Lin-i. The inhabitants of all these countries greatly reverence the three Gems (evidently the *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Samgha*). There are many who hold firmly to the precepts and perform the begging *dhūta*<sup>37</sup> which constitutes a custom in these countries."<sup>38</sup>

Of the countries alluded to in the above passage, Lin-i has been sought to be indentified with Campā, She-ho-po-ti with Dvārāvati (mod. Ayuthia in Siam), Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo

37. The begging *dhūta* is one of the thirteen *dhūtaries* which are enumerated in Pali in the following order:

- a. *Pamsakūlikāṅgam*
- b. *Tecīvarikāṅgam*
- c. *Pinḍapātikāṅgam*
- d. *Sapadānacārikāṅgam* (Begging from door to door)
- e. *Ekāsānikāṅgam*
- f. *Pattapīṇḍikāṅgam* (Begging with a bowl)
- g. *Khalupacchābhattikāṅgam*
- h. *Ārañṇakāṅgam*
- i. *Rukkhamūlikāṅgam*
- j. *Abbhokāsikāṅgam*
- k. *Sosānikāṅgam*
- l. *Yatthāsanthatikāṅgam*
- m. *Nesajjikāṅgam*

Of these Nos. *d* and *f* are not found in the Sanskrit list of *Dhūtaṅgas* (For Chinese counter-terms, see Takakusu, *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57 Childers, *Dhūtaṅgam*). I-ching's reference perhaps includes all the three kinds of begging.

38 Takakusu, *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10; Pelliot, *BEFEO.*, 1904, pp. 405-6; Chavannes, *Religieux Eminents*, p. 58 n.

As to the state of the Religion in Lin-i, there is a further reference in I-ching's *Record* (Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 12): "Setting out from Kwan-chou (Huan-chou), a district in Annam, right to the south one will reach Pi-king after a journey of rather more than half-a-month on foot, or after only five or six tides if abroad ship; and proceeding till southwards one arrives at Campā i.e. Lin-i. In this country Buddhists generally belong to the *Āryasammitinikāya*, and there are also a few followers of the *Sarvāstivādanikāya*.

with Śrīkṣetra or the old kingdom of Prome (whose capital is represented by the ruins of the village of Hmawza, 6 miles to the south of the present town of Prome), and Lang-Chia-shu with the kingdom of Chia-mo-lang-chia or Kāmalāṅka of Hsüan-chuang.<sup>39</sup> Of these, the identifications of Lin-i, She-ho-po-ti (also mentioned by Hsüan-chuang as To-lo-po-ti) and Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo are generally accepted, the latter country having also been mentioned by Hsüan-chuang as situated to the north-east of Samatata by the side of a great sea in a valley of mountains.<sup>40</sup>

But it is difficult to be equally definite with regard to the one remaining identification, though I have elsewhere sought to identify I-ching's Lang-chia-shu or Laṅkāsu with the entire Tennaserim division (*Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 24-29). It is generally assumed that I-ching's Lang-chia-shu or Laṅkāsu is the same as Hsüan-chuang's Chia-mo-lang-chia or Kāmalāṅka, the reason being that Lang-chia-shu is placed by I-ching exactly in the same relation to Śrīkṣetra and Dvārāvati (To-lo-po-ti) as Chia-mo-lang-chia is placed by Hsüan-chuang in relation to the same two kingdoms (i.e. Śrīkṣetra and Dvārāvati).<sup>41</sup>

39 For these identifications, see, Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. li-lij; Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 32; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 200, n. 34; Chavannes, *op. cit.*; and above all Pelliot's "*Deux Itinéraires*" in *BEFEO.*, 1904.

40 Hsüan-chuang's orientation of Śrīkṣetra is evidently wrong; for it lies far to the south-east, not to the north-east of Samatata. The only solution that occurs to me is that Śrīkṣetra means (as is) not improbable), not the capital, but the kingdom presumably of the Pyu; that at the time of Hsüan-chuang the Pyu kingdom extended, not as Phayre conjectured; "for a few miles north and south of Prome, but as in 806 A.D., over Upper Burma; and that the road into Burma from Samatata started in a north-easterly direction, probably leading through Manipur and joining the Kāmarūpa route detailed by Chia Tin (785-805 A.D.)" (*JBR.*, XIV. II. p. 161).

41 "Thence north-east (i.e. from Samatata) beside the great sea

There can thus be no objection to the two kingdoms being the same; nor can there be any apparent criticism against their being identified, as both Phayre and Beal do,<sup>42</sup> with Pegu and the deltaic region of the Irrawady. But as Lang-chia-shu has been identified with a considerable number of similar names found in Chinese and other sources, possibilities of identification of the kingdom with other regions in Indo-China have very naturally suggested themselves, and it is difficult to ignore them. It is pointed out that Lang-Chia or Lang-chia-shu is mentioned several times by I-ching as a port visited by the pilgrims whose lives he records, on their way to India. To quote one such passage:

Taolin, a Chinese pilgrim, was tossed on shipboard over the seas of the south. He passed the pillars of Copper and reached the kingdom of Lang-chia. He crossed the kingdom of Ho-ling (Java) and traversed the country of the Naked People (Nicobar).....After several years he reached Eastern India, in the kingdom of Tan-mo-li-ti (Tāmralipti).<sup>43</sup>

#### *Where is Lang-chia or Lang-chia-shu ?*

It seems clear from this passage that I-ching's Lang-chia (-shu) "was on the west coast of the Peninsula, on the route somewhere between Annam and Java; and if so, how can it be both south-east or Śrīkṣetra and west of Dvārāvātī which is placed on the basin of the Menam? I-ching, when he sent his *Lives of the Pilgrims* back to China,

in a valley of the hills, is the kingdom of Shi-li-ch'a-ta-lo; thence to the south-east, in a corner of the great sea is the kingdom of Chia-mo-lang-chia; thence in the east, is the kingdom of To-lo-po-ti." This is from Hsüan-chuang's *Records*; compare it with that of I-ching quoted above.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>43</sup> Chavannes, *Religieux Eminents*, p. 100.

had lived about eight years in the seas of the south, mostly at Palembang. Could he have made any mistake about the position of Lang-chia-shu.....? Or did he know, without troubling to distinguish them, two kingdoms of the name Lang-chia (-shu) the one somewhere in Tennasserim, the other on the east side of the Peninsula south of the Isthmus of Kra? Or is I-Ching here merely echoing Hsuang-chuang, but substituting for Kāmalāṅka (a name unknown to him), one that was familiar, Lang-chia-shu, without much regard for geographical accuracy?"<sup>44</sup> These are some of the very pertinent questions that have been raised, and one has to think over them before he can hope to come to a conclusion on this point.

Meanwhile, Lang-chia-shu has been taken to be identical with the kingdom of Lang-ya or Lang-ya-hsun which is referred to in the *Liang shu* (ch. 54, f. 3 verso) and with that of Lang-ya-hsü mentioned in connection with Ch'ang Chun's embassy to Ch'ih-t'u kingdom in 607-8 A.D. *Pei Shih*, ch. f. 3 recto; *Sui shu*, ch. 82, f. 1. verso)<sup>45</sup>.

Without going into the details of these texts which have been ably weighed and considered by Chavannes, Schlegel, Pelliot and Luce,<sup>46</sup> it may be said that the position of these kingdoms as described in the Chinese texts referred to, seem to be quite in accordance with that of I-ching's Lang-chia-shu, i. e. they were situated somewhere in the east coast of the Malay Peninsula south of the Isthmus of Kra in the southern sea. Furthermore, Lang-chia-shu has also been identified with Ling-yu-ssü-chia mentioned by Chau-ju-kua (1225)<sup>47</sup> as one of the fifteen dependencies of San-fo-ch'i (Palembang=Śrīvijaya=Sumātra), which again,

44 Luce, *JBRs.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.

45 *Ibid.*, pp. 164-65.

46 Pelliot, *op. cit.*, *BEFEO.*, 1903 and 1904; Chavannes, *op. cit.*; Schlegel, *T'oung Pao*, IX, 193; Luce, *op. cit.*

47 Chau-ju-kua, Ed. by Hirth and Rockhill. This kingdom is also referred to as Ling-ya-ssü.



Çœdès thinks,<sup>48</sup> is the same as (a) llaṅgāsogam of Tanjore Tamil inscription of Rajendracola (1012-1042). and (b) the Lēṅkasuka, a dependency of the Majapahit, mentioned in the old Javanese poem Nāgarakṛtagama (14th century). Pelliot thinks that Lang-chia-su = Lang-ya-hsiu = Lang-ya-hsü = Ling-ya-ssü (-chia) = Lēṅkāuka were one and the same kingdom<sup>49</sup> which he identifies with Tennasserim, Ferrand agrees with him but further indentifies it with llaṅgāsogam, the Locac of Marco Polo<sup>50</sup> (end of the 13th century), and finally with the Lang-sakā, of an Arabic manuscript of the 16th century, situated on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula.<sup>51</sup> He, therefore, fixes the position of the kingdom on the Isthmus of Ligor. But Çœdès, while finding in Lang-chia-shu of I-ching, Lang-ya-hsiu of the *Liang shu* and the Lang-ya-hsü of the *Sui shu* one and the same place, sees in the llaṅgāsogam of Rājendracola's inscription, the Ling-ya-ssy-chia of Chau-ju-kua and the Lēṅkasuka of the Nāgarakṛtāgama quite a different place<sup>52</sup>. He identifies the former with Tennasserim just as Pelliot does, and the latter with Gunong Jěrai or Kedah Peak, in the south of the Kedah state.

*Lang-Chia or Lang-chia-su = mod. Tennasserim Division.*

I have in short reproduced above the various identifications of I-ching's Lang-chia-shu and the data on which they are based. None of them evidently is free from objections. Pelliot was obviously influenced by the fact that I-ching located the kingdom south-east of Śrīkṣetra and west of Dvārāvātī which one cannot certainly ignore. But I do not understand Ferrand's arguments for placing

48 BEFEO., 1918 No. 6.

49 BEFEO., 1904, pp. 405-407.

50 Yule and Cordier's edn. Vol. II. p. 276.

51 JA., J. J. Aout, 1918, pp. 134-145, 153-54.

52 A translation of the Keddah Annals, J. Ind. Arch., III, pp. 11-13.

it on the Isthmus of Ligor ; his identification does neither suit the statement that it was situated south-east of Śrīkṣetra and west of Dvārāvati nor the fact which I-ching elsewhere seems to indicate, according to some, that it was on the opposite coast of the Peninsula somewhere on the route between Annam and Java. The first identification of Çœdès is understandable but the distinction he makes between the two sets of names is open to objections which have been ably pointed out by Prof. Luce.<sup>53</sup> For the present, however, I am rather disposed to agree, though it is not conclusive, with Pelliot, and identify I-ching's Lang-chia-shu with at least that portion of the present Tennasserim division which extends from Tavoy to Tenasserim *i.e.* the region watered by the Tenasserim river which is really to the south-east of Śrīkṣetra and west of Dvārāvati (in the lower valley of the Menam).<sup>54</sup> As for other references by I-ching<sup>55</sup> to Lang-chia-shu, I think they can be reconciled in the following way; the boats that carried the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims kept generally to the coast line till they passed Fū-nan (or Chen-la as it was then called)

53 *JBRS.*, XIV. II, p. 168-169.

54 Personally I would like to assume that Lang-chia-shu was practically identical with the entire Tenasserim Division of to-day extending from Thaton to Tenasserim. The position then of the various kingdoms (not of the islands but of the continent) bordering the southern seas may be stated briefly as follows: First, Shi-li-ch'a-ta-lo or Śrīkṣetra *i.e.* the old kingdom of Prome of the P'iao or Pyu; second, Lang-chia-shu or Chia-mo-lang-chia (*Kāmalāṅka*) to the south-west of Śrīkṣetra and west of Dvārāvati; third, She-ho-po-ti or To-lo-po-ti (Dvārāvati) on the lower valley of the Menam in modern Siam; fourth, P'an-p'an to the south of Dvārāvati and south-west of Lin-i (Campā) in a corner of the sea'; fifth, Chen-la or old Fu-nan (Cambodia) to the east and south-east of P'an-p'an; and lastly, Lin-i to the extreme east extending as far as the coast.

55 See Chavannes, *Religieux éminents* pp. 57, 78, 100.

whence they did no longer follow the coast line, but favoured by the current crossed the Gulf of Siam almost diagonally till they came to anchor somewhere at the head of the Gulf on the east coast of the Peninsula, whence they crossed over to Ho-ling or Java, and thence *via* Nikobar to Tāmra-lipti. For the rest, we can safely assume that the kingdom of Lang-chia-shu extended from coast to coast of the Peninsula.

Accepting this identification for the present, we are now in a position to use more or less definitely I-ching's data as to the state of Buddhism in the countries we are concerned with in our present subject of study. Of the various countries in Indo-China that practised Buddhism in his time, one, *i.e.* Śrīkṣetra is definitely included in Burma; and the other also we have, for the present, identified with a region that is included in the same country. According to I-ching, 'the inhabitants of both these countries greatly reverence the Three Gems, and many of them hold firmly to the precepts and perform the begging *dhūta* which constitutes a custom in these countries'. That in one of the two countries, namely, Lang-chia-shu, Chinese Buddhist priests used to be received in those days with honour and treated with a great deal of respect will be evident from the two following passages which we quote on the authority of Chavannes:

I-lang, Chih-ngan and I-hsüan, three Chinese pilgrims, having reached We-lei (a small sea-port west of Pakhoi in Canton) sailed on a merchant ship..... They passed Fū-nan, and anchored in the country of Lang-chia-shu; and were treated by the king of that country with ceremony that is usually accorded to very honoured and distinguished guests.<sup>56</sup>

Further, Tao-lin, another Chinese pilgrim, also visited the kingdom of Lang-chia; he too was welcomed by the

<sup>56</sup> Chavannes, *Religieux eminents*, p. 57.

king of the country with the greatest courtesy, and was treated with utmost care and respect.<sup>57</sup>

It now remains to be considered: to which school this Buddhism of Śrīkṣetra and Lang-chia-shu (in the 7th century) really belonged? On this point, I-ching himself, I think, gives us a very illuminating and a most definite lead. He speaks of the four nikāyas or schools of Buddhism in his time: the *Āryamahāsaṅghika nikāya*, the *Āryasthāvira nikāya*, the *Āryamūlasarvāstivāda nikāya*, and the *Āryasammiti nikāya*, though "which of the four schools should be grouped with the Mahāyāna or with the Hīnayāna is not determined." In South India generally and Ceylon exclusively 'all follow the *Sthāvira nikāya*, or *Theravāda*, which was certainly included in the *Hīnayāna*. *Sammiti nikāya* also evidently was a Hīnayānist school.<sup>58</sup> I-ching seems also to include the *Sarvāstivāda nikāya* in *Hīnayāna*. For, when he speaks of the "Islands of the Southern Sea, consisting of more than ten countries, where the *Mūlasarvāstivāda nikāya* has been almost universally adopted," he states rather baldly that "Buddhism is embraced in all these countries, and mostly the system of the *Hīnayāna* (Smaller Vehicle) is adopted except in Malayu (Śrī Bhoja=Śrī Vijaya=Sumātra) where there are a few who belong to the *Mahāyāna* (Larger Vehicle)" And on this point I-ching certainly could not mis-state facts, for he himself subscribed to the school of the *Sarvāstivādins*.<sup>59</sup>

57 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

58 Hsüan-Chuang, the older pilgrim, definitely labels the Sammitiya school as Hīnayānist. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 178, 242, 246, 247, 249, 252, 256, 258, etc.

59 "In I-Ching's time the *Sarvāstivāda* school flourished most in North India and in Magadha in Central India, (Madhyadeśa) and had also some followers in East and West; but was entirely absent in Ceylon and had very few adherents in South India. No other school, so far as we can ascertain, ever flourished so widely as the *Sarvāstivāda*, either before or after the seventh century; though its adherents in India alone, in Hsüan-Chuang's time were not so nume-

This is more clear in the statement he elsewhere makes : "In Northern India (where 'all belong to the *Sarvāstivāda nikāya*, though we sometimes meet the followers of the *Mahāsaṅghīkanikāya*) and in the islands of the Southern seas they generally belong to the *Hīnayāna*, while those in the Divine Land or Red Province (meaning in both cases China) devote themselves to the *Mahāyāna*; in other places (obviously excluding South India and Ceylon where *Sthavira nikāya* was followed) some practise in accordance with one some with the other."<sup>60</sup> It, therefore, follows that I-ching considered, and rightly so, *Sarvāstivāda nikāya* as belonging to the *Hīnayāna*, though he does not expressly say so.

From I-Ching's clear and somewhat detailed account of the distribution of the different schools of Buddhism, we are thus, I think, in a position to presume that the two countries of Burma (*Śrīkṣetra* and *Kāmalāṅka* or *Laṅkāsu*), where Buddhism was practised in his time, belonged to the *Hīnayāna* which included not only the *Theravāda*, or *Sthavira nikāya* as I-ching calls it, but the *Sarvāstivāda nikāya* as well. The prevalence of the latter sect may, in our present state of knowledge, seem somewhat startling, but, I think, we have somewhat independent evidence to

rous as those of other schools (*JRAS.*, 1819, p. 420) Takakusu, *op. cit.*, XXII.

60 I-ching's line of distinction between the two Buddhist systems, *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna*, is likely to be considered liberal from the orthodox point of view. "Those who worship the Bodhisattvas and read the *Mahāyāna Sūtras* are called the *Mahāyānists*, while those who do not perform these are called the *Hīnayānists*. There are but two kinds of the so-called *Mahāyāna*: the *Mādhyamikas* (of Nāgārjuna) and *Yoga* (or *Yogācāra* of Asaṅga). *Ibid.*, p. 14-15.

Hsüan-Chuang also very loosely distinguishes between the two, though he had great personal leanings towards *Mahāyāna*. This explains why he sometimes describes even the *Sthavira* school as belonging to *Mahāyāna*. See, Watters, *op. cit.* II, pp. 136, 198, 234, 241, 248



prove its existence, at least in the capital of the Old Prome kingdom in about the seventh and eighth centuries, and at Pagan in the subsequent centuries, till the twelfth. As to the prevalence of the *Theravāda*, the Pāli inscriptions found at Hmawza and discussed in a succeeding section bear ample and eloquent testimony.

## IV

BUDDHISM IN OLD PROME (*contd.*)

C. 750-850 A. D.

*Evidence of T'ang Chronicles*

C. 800

But before we take leave of the valuable information afforded by Chinese texts we have to consider one or two relevant passages relating to the kingdom of P'iao (Pyu), in about the ninth century, from the chronicles of the T'ang dynasty of China (618-907 A. D.),<sup>61</sup> so far as they relate to our present subject of study. The *Hsin-t'ang-shu* (ch. 222 C, f. 2 verso) mentions eighteen kingdoms as vassal states of P'iao who are mentioned elsewhere in the same chronicle as having thirty-two chief settlements that were presumably distributed over the region extending from at least the mouths of the Salween in the south to so far north as to include the whole of Upper Burma<sup>62</sup>. The capital of the P'iao or Pyus has long been successfully identified with Hsüan-Chuang's Shi-li-cha-ta-lo (Śrīkṣetra) or Prome; the evidence therefore of the T'ang chronicles as to what they have to record as regards the religion of the country is certainly of interest inasmuch as it follows close upon that of I-ching.

61 *Chin-t'ang-shu* of Lill Hsu, etc., and *Hsin-t'ang-shu* of Ou Yang Hsin and Sung Ch'i.

62 See, *BEFEO.*, 1904, Pelliot's *Deux Itinéraires*, p. 223; also, Ferrand, *J.A.*, *Marz-Avril*, 1919, p. 251; Luce, *JBR.S.*, p. 161.

“When the P’iao King goes out in his palanquin, he lies on a couch of golden cord. For long distances he rides an elephant. He has several hundred women to wait on him. The wall of his city built of greenish glazed tiles, is 160 li round, with twelve gates and with pagodas at each of the four corners.<sup>63</sup> The people live inside.....*They dislike taking life.* They greet each other by clapsing the arm with the hand. They know how to make astronomical calculations.<sup>64</sup> *They are Buddhists and have a hundred monasteries*, with bricks of glass were embellished with gold and silver vermilion, gay colours and red kino.....*At seven years of age, the people cut their hair and enter a monastery; if at the age of twenty they have not grasped the doctrine they return to lay estate.* For cloths they use skirts made of cotton, for they hold that silk should not be worn as it involves the taking of life.....”<sup>65</sup>

The annalist continues, “There is a huge elephant (or image) a hundred feet high; litigants burn incense and kneel before it, reflecting within themselves whether they be right or wrong, and then they retire. When there is

63 The remains that are clearly defined of this extensive wall can still be seen round the ruins of the city; and three of the four pagodas at the four corners can perhaps be traced in the Bawbawgyi, the Payagyi and the Pyama *stūpas*.

64 This probably refers to the Brāhmaṇa court-astronomers whose influence in the Buddhist courts of Indo-China was considerable. They are again and again mentioned in Mon Inscriptions of the 11th-13th centuries. It is not improbable that the Buddhists had some knowledge of astronomical calculations learnt from the Brāhmaṇa priests whose existence in the old capital of Prome during these centuries is proved by the discovery of *Brāhmanical* images, mainly Viṣṇuite. Ray, *Brāhmanical Gods in Burma*, Calcutta, 1932.

65 Parker, *Burma with special reference to the relations with China* 1893, p. 12.

any disaster or plague, the King also kneels before it and blames himself''.

*The evident conclusion*

The evident conclusion is that during the eighth and ninth centuries Buddhism in the capital city of Prome continued as strong as ever, and claimed—this at least is the impression one gets from the passage quoted above—the large majority of the population, each individual member of which was required to spend some specified years of life as a monk, a custom that is still widely prevalent in Burma. The reference to a hundred monastic establishments need not be taken literally, but it certainly indicates a flourishing state of the religion in the country where the doctrine of 'non-killing' had taken so deep a root as not to escape the notice of even foreign sojourners.

V

BUDDHISM IN OLD PROME (*contd.*)

C. 400-C. 600 A.D.

It has been sought to prove in the foregoing pages that Buddhism was already an established religion widely followed and practised in the kingdom of Prome from about 600 A.D. But it is possible to push the history of Buddhism in this part of Burma back to at least one century and a half earlier still. The evidence is epigraphic and hence may safely be relied upon.

As early as 1897 there were discovered at Maunggan, a small village close to Hmawza, two gold plates bearing Pāli epigraphs inscribed in characters that have long been recognised as having a very close affinity with the Kadamba script of the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. Each of the two plates contains three lines, they are in perfect state of preservation, and the letters are so distinct as to leave no room for doubt as to their decipherment.

They begin each with the oft-repeated Buddhist formula : "Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṃ hetu..... etc." but differ in the text of the portions that follow<sup>66</sup>. This will be evident from the transliteration that follows of the two plates and their translations : —

*1st Plate.*

- (1) *Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṃ hetum tathāgato āha tesaṃ ca yo nirodho evaṃvādi mahāsamano ti*
- (2) *Catvāro iddhipādā catvāro sammappadhānā catvāro satipaṭṭhanā catvāri ariyasaccāni catuvesarājñāni pañcindriyāni pañca cakḅhuni ca*
- (3) *Asaddhāranani sattee bojjaṅga ariya atthaṅgiḅo maggo navaloḅuttarā dhammā dasa balāni cuddasa buddhaññāni atthārasa buddhadhammā ti.*

*Translation.*

- (1) The Tathāgata spoke of the cause of things which are sprung from cause. The Great Recluse also spoke of the ceasing to be in respect of those very things.
- (2) The four items of miracle, the four aims of right exertion, the four modes of the practice of mindfulness, the scheme of four for the arrangement of truths, the four supreme acquisitions, the five controlling faculties and the five eye-sights.
- (3) Extraordinary are the seven constituents of *bodhi*, the noble eightfold way (of Progress), the nine transcendental states, the ten Powers, the fourteen (inner urges) of Buddha, the eighteen virtues of Buddha.

*2nd Plate.*

- (1) *Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā (te) sa (ṃ) hetu tathāgato āha tesaṃ ca yo nirodho evaṃvādi mahāsamaṇo ti iti pi so bhagavā araham*

<sup>66</sup> *Ep. Ind.* V. p. 101 ff. For a more correct reading and interpretation, see Finot, "Un nouveau document sur le Buddhisme birman" *J.A.*, XX. *Juillet-Aout*, 1912, p. 121 ff.

- (2) *Sammā Sambuddho vijjācaraṇa-sampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadhamma-sārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavā ti.*
- (3) *Svakṛhāto bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiḥko akāliḥko ehipassiḥko opanayiḥko paccattam veditavvo viññuhitī.*

*Translation*

- (1) The Tathāgata spoke of the cause of things which are sprung from cause. The Great Recluse also spoke of the ceasing to be in respect of those very things. So it goes: He the Divine Master is the Elect worthy of honour
- (2) The Supreme Buddha, endowed with self-mastery and graceful department, well-gone, excelling in the knowledge of the world, unsurpassed, the guide to tameable persons, the Teacher of Gods and men, the Enlightened and Blessed One
- (3) Well-propounded by the Master is the Doctrine, producing effect here and now, having "come and see" for its motto, leading up towards the goal, (and) to be experienced individually by the wise.

In the first plate there is, besides the well-known formula, an enumeration of 19 categories of *Saddhama*, evidently from the *Abhidhamma*, in a progressively numerical order. These categories are separately alluded to or discussed in more or less detail, in most of the *Abhidhamma* texts; but it is probably in the *Vibhaṅga*, one of the seven books of the *Abhidhamma*, that these categories, some of them at least; if not all, are often alluded to and treated in detail. Thus, to the elucidation of the four *iddhipādā*, the four *satipatṭhānā*, the seven *bhojjhaṅgā*, the four *ariya-saccāni*, the five *indriyāni*, the four *Samappadhānā*, the *atthaṅgiḥko maggo*, and the *dasa (tathāgata) balāni*, the *Vibhaṅga* devotes separate chapters or sections; and at least in one place it enumerates some of the categories in a progressively numerical order:



*Cattāro satippaṭṭhāna cattāro sammappadhānā cattāro iddhipādā pañcendriyāni pañca balāni satta bhojhaṅgā ariyo atthaṅgiḷo maggo* (Rhys Davids, *Vibhaṅgā*, p. 372).

This plate may, therefore, roughly be said to consist of a very short synoptical list of some of the contents of the *Vibhaṅga*, a sort of a short note to help the memory or to serve as a guide to a teacher of the Religion.

The second plate begins in the same manner as the first ; and to any student of Pāli canonical literature it will be evident that the first line is followed in the second and the third by the well-known praise of the *Triratna*. We may find it, for example, in the *Puññābhisandavagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*,<sup>67</sup> a book of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, where the continuity of the text in two lines, as in our plate, is rather broken by an introductory and a concluding sentence in each case. This will be clearly evident from the extract we reproduce from the *Aṅguttara* :

*Idha bhikkhave ariyasāvako Buddhe aveccappasādena samannāgato hoti—iti pi so bhagavā araham sammāsambuddha vijjācara nasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadamma sārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavāti. Ayam bhikkhave pathamo puññābhisando kusalābhisando—sukkhāya saṃvattati.*

*Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave ariyasāvako dhamme aveccappasādena samannāgato hoti—svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiḷo akālīḷo ehipassīḷo opanayīḷo paccattam vedītabbo viññuhīti. Ayam bhikkhave dutiyo puññābhisando kusalābhisando...sukkhāya saṃvattati.*

#### *Bawbawgyi Pagoda Stone Inscription*

The most important Pāli inscriptions of Hmawza were discovered not earlier than twelve years later. In 1910-11 while clearing a small debris round the base of the Bawbawgyi pagoda were unearthed two fragments of a stone inscription in Pāli ; the third fragment completing the ins-

67 P.T.S., Edn., Vol. II. 52, p. 56.

cription was found the year after close by the same spot. The inscription was edited and translated for the first time by Prof. L. Finot in his very interesting article already referred to.<sup>68</sup>

### Text

(1) (*Samphusa*) *nā samphus* (i) *tattam vedanākkhando saññākkhando saṅkkhārakkhando*.

(2) .....*ditthivipphanditam ditthiayam vuccati chaḷāya-tanapaccayā phasso tattha katham* (a) (*pha*) *ssa paccayā vedanā* *Iyam ceta(s) i (kam)*.

(3) *Saññojanam gā (ho) paṭilāho patiggāho abhiniwesso parāmāso Mummago*.....

### Translation

(1) .....(the contact), the fact of coming into contact, the *vedanākkhandha*, the *saññākkhandha*, the *saṅkkhārakkhandha* (i. e. the three khandhas or aggregates, viz, sensation, perception, and confection), (2) Quarrels of opinion, this is what people call opinion or *ditthi*. Touch comes from the six organs of sense, What is the sensation which is derived from touching. That which is in thought... (3) Chain, fever, inclination, contagion, bad path.

Evidently the next is something of the sort of a disconnected note of some of the essentials of Buddhist psychology. That it is an extract from a canonical text, there can be no doubt, and Prof. Finot suggested<sup>69</sup> that it might probably be an extract, not necessarily word for word, from the *Dhammasaṅgani*, a book of the *Abhidhamma*, while M. Charles Duroiselle pointed it out<sup>70</sup> to be an extract from the *Vibhaṅga*, another book of the same *piṭaka*. That the subject of the text of our inscription concerns itself directly with those portion of the *Dhammasaṅgani* which deal with the questions *katame dhammā kusalā* and *katame dhammā akusalā* must needs be admi-

68 *An. R.A.S.B.*, 1924, p. 22.

69 Finot—*op. cit.*

70 *An. R.A.S.B.*, 1924, p. 22.

tted, but nowhere in the *Dhammasaṅgani* the subject is presented in the way we have in the inscription. Duroiselle's suggestion seems rather to be more precise, though in that case also the text of the inscription does not follow that of the *Vibhaṅga*. There in the first article of the *Paccayāccatukka* section of the chapter on *Paccayā Kāravibhaṅga*, we have a systematic classification and explanation of what is called *akusalā dhammā*. In that connection is explained what is *avijjā* and next in a graduated order, what is *saṅkhāra* derived from *avijjā*, *viññāna* derived from *saṅkhāra* *nāma* derived from *viññāna*, *chaḷāyatanam* derived from *nāma*, *phassa* derived from *chaḷāyatanam*, *vedanā* derived from *phassa*, *tañhā* derived from *vedanā*, *upādānam* derived from *tañhā* and so on and so forth, till we finally come to what is *jarāmaraṇam*.<sup>71</sup> But what is most logically and systematically set forth in the *Vibhaṅga* is treated in a most cursory and careless manner in the stone inscription without any logic whatsoever in the system of arrangement. Thus in the very first line is set forth contact and the fact of coming into contact (*samphusitattam*) which, in the *Vibhaṅga*, is explained in connection with touch (*phasso*) that is derived from the six organs of sense. Next we get the three *khandas* or aggregates which are set forth in the *Vibhaṅga* in connection with the explanation of *nāma* that is derived from *viññāna*. The reference (2nd line) to opinion (*diṭṭhi*) or quarrels of opinion (*diṭṭhivipphanditam*) comes only in connection with the elucidation of *upādānam* that is derived from *tañhā*. The references to touch (*phasso*) that is derived from the six organs of sense (*chaḷāyatana*) and to sensation (*vedanā*) that is derived from touch seem, however, to be in order. But the list (3rd line) counting chain, fever, inclination, etc. in a series is set forth in the *Vibhaṅga* only in connection with the elucidation of what is called *upādānam* that is derived from *tañhā*. It is thus evident that the text of our fragments is nothing but a cursory and

71 *Vibhaṅga* (P.T.S., Edn.), pp. 144-45.

indifferent note, loosely arranged, of an important article of the *Vibhaṅga*. What purpose this or such notes served or for whom these were intended is somewhat difficult to ascertain; but, as I have already suggested, it is likely that these short epigraphs, by way of very short notes of essentials of the Religion, served the purpose of a guide book, a book of points to help the memory, for those preachers of the faith who early took upon themselves the task of evangelizing the land of *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*.

### *A Gold-leaf Pāli Manuscript*

But the most important record hitherto discovered of Pāli Buddhism in Lower Burma is a book of twenty leaves of gold, exactly of the nature of old palm-leaf manuscripts of India, each inscribed on one side, placed within two covers of the same metal. This unique record also was discovered at Hmawza, in 1926 last; but unfortunately it has not yet been edited and translated, and the text is not, therefore yet available to scholars. A very short notice of the find and the contents of the record were, however, published in the *Archaeological Survey Report of India* for 1926-27<sup>72</sup> which I may, to some extent, supplement here by my personal knowledge of the record.

The record begins in the first page with an extract in Pāli giving the important and very well-known Buddhist formula of the chain of causation or *paṭicca samuppāda sutta*. This is followed by long extracts, not connected together by any inherent meaning and argument, from all the Three Piṭakas—the Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma; and is concluded on the last page with the no less well-known enumeration of the qualities of the Master, beginning with '*itipi so bhagavā araham sammāsambuddha.....*' etc. The concluding portion *i.e.* the one recording the praise of the Triratna presents nothing original or interesting as it is to be found everywhere in the canonical literature

<sup>72</sup> *An. R.A.S.I.*, 1920-27, p. 200.

of the Buddhists, more so because we have had already a reproduction of the formula in one of the Maunggan gold plates discussed above, and referred to, for example, in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (vol. II, 52, p. 56). The most important portion of the manuscript, however, is the *Paticca sammuppāda sūtta* round which all interest must centre ; but owing to the present state of our very meagre and imperfect knowledge of the record, it is difficult to hazard a discussion for which we must wait till the official publication of the record. So far as I am now in a position to ascertain, the text of the sūtta of the MSS. is possible to be traced in the very first section of the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vināya Piṭaka* (l. p. 1 ff) as well as in the Pāli *Samyutta* (II., p. 1 ff) of the *Sūta Piṭaka*. In the latter, the text of the *Patīccasamuppādam* includes not only the *desanā* which consists of the *Patīccasamuppāda sutta* itself and its *nirodha*, but also its *vibhaṅga* ; in the *Mahāvagga* however, it is only the *desanā* and its *nirodha* that are set forth. The Hmawza text, so far as I have been able to make out, consists of the *Sūta* itself as well as its *nirodha*, but no *vibhaṅga* ; and the text is just as we find it in the Pāli canon.<sup>73</sup>

73 The *Pratītya Samutpāda Sūtra* in its Prakrit and Sanskrit versions is mentioned in very ancient texts. The earliest in Prakrit can be found in the Kharosthi Inscription on a Kurram Casket edited by Sten Konow (*C.I.I.*, Vol. I. Pt. I. no. IXXX); and the latest in Sanskrit can be found in a Brāhmi Inscription on two Nalanda bricks edited by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. 23.....). For a very valuable and interesting note on the *Sūtra*, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. 23..... "A Note on the *Pratītya Samutpāda Sūtra*" by Dr. P. C. Bagchi. The result of Dr. Bagchi's analysis as to the chronology of the texts as quoted in inscriptions and Chinese texts is set forth as follows: Kurram Insc. text (consisting of *Pratītya* alone) —c. 100 A.D.; *Sūtrālamkāra* text (consisting of *Pratītya* and *Nirodha*) —c. 100 A.D.; Kasia Insc. text (consisting of *Pratītya* and *Nirodha*) —c. 450-75 A.D.; Chinese *Samyutta* text (consisting of *Pratītya* and



Another gold-leaf inscribed with characters exactly similar to the one just considered and similarly dateable in the fifth or sixth centuries A. D. was recovered in 1928-29 from the Kyundawza village near Hmawza. The plate broken in the process of cleaning in seven fragments (total length about  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches) bears an inscription in two lines. It is in Pāli and contains the first part of the well-known Buddhist formula in praise of the Buddha already discussed above in connection with the second Maunggan gold-plate (line 2 and last portion of line 1). Though in the latter portion of the second line the letters are not so distinct, the inscription which runs as follows can easily be read without any difficulty :

1st line : Iti pi so bhagavā araham sammāsambuddho  
vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anu-  
taro purisā (dhammāsārathi satthā)

2nd line : devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavā ti<sup>74</sup>

*Vibhaṅga*—414 A.D.; Nalanda Insc. text consisting of *Pratītya* and *Vibhaṅga* c. 520 A.D.; and now the Hmawza Inscription text (consisting of the *Paticca* and *Nirodha*, in Pāli)—c. 500 A.D.

74 "The formula which is in praise of the Buddha, is a stereotyped one occurring in the *Vināya* and *Sutta* Pīṭakas. The Pyus appear to have had a predilection for copying short extracts from these two Pīṭakas especially from the *Abhidhamma*, on gold and silver plates, which were enshrined within pagodas, as well as on terracotta plaques and stones."—Duroiselle, *An. R.A.S.I.*, 1928-29, pp. 108-9.

In the same Report (p. 107), Duroiselle informs us of the discovery of some terracotta tablets from a mound at Pyogingyi-Kon bearing effigies of the Buddha on the obverse. The reverse of some of these contains short extracts from the *Abhidhamma*. One tablet, of which only the lower half remains, contains on the obverse a short inscription. All these epigraphs are in the self-same Kannaḍa-Telugu script of the 6th-7th century A.D. The short inscription just mentioned, is an extract from the *Abhidhamma* and quite legible:

(adbi) patipaccayo anantara paccayo

*What these Pāli Inscriptions prove?*

Whatever be the textual consideration of the epigraphs discussed above, they would hardly affect the general deductions that we are even now in a position to make with regard to the position of Theravāda Buddhism in Old Prome. And these deductions are easily made. I have already hinted at the purpose these records probably served, and need not repeat it here. All these records were inscribed in a familiar script, long known to our epigraphists as the Kadamba script, of the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. This script was used in the records of the Kadambas and early Cālukyas, and was prevalent in the ancient Kuntala (Kanarese district) and Andhra (comprising the valleys of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī) regions. The affinity of the Hmawza script with the Kadamba script is obvious, but it seems that an evident resemblance may also be found with that used in the records of the Ikṣvāku kings found at Nāgārjunī-koṇḍa<sup>75</sup> and Jaggayyepeta,<sup>76</sup> both in the Kṛṣṇā valley, and paleographically dated in the third century. The fact is that the Hmawza script belongs to the south-Indian variety of the Brāhmī script current in the Andhra-Kuntala region, and is palæographically dateable in about the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. The language of the above records, we have already seen, is Pāli; and they relate themselves to the doctrines of Theravāda Buddhism.

The extract is probably from the *Paṭṭhāna* or the 7th Book of the *Abbidhamma*. Another tablet contains an extract which appears to be from the *Dhammasaṅgani*, the first book of the *Abbidhamma*. It may be read as follows:

Kusalā (dhammā aku)  
 Salā dhammā avyak (tā)  
 dhammā.

<sup>75</sup> *An. R.S.I.E.*, 1916, p. 92; 1927, pp. 71-74; *Ep. Ind.*,

<sup>76</sup> *A.S.S.I.*, I. pp. 110-111; *Rates* LXII and LXIII.

We can, therefore, safely conclude in the light of what we have discussed above, that (i) Buddhism of the Theravāda variety was introduced in Old Prome, or, it is more correct to say, was already an established religion, at least as early as the fifth century A.D.; (ii) Pāli as the language of Theravāda was known and understood in at least the capital city, by a certain section at least, of the people (iii) Pāli canonical texts were studied in their doctrinal and most abstruse aspects (iv) and finally, the original home from where this Buddhism was introduced in the old city of Prome was evidently the Andhra-Kuntala region of South India, from such centres as Amarāvati, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Kāñcīpuram and Kāveripaṭṭanam where Theravāda Buddhism during these centuries had established famous and flourishing strongholds. It is thus definitely proved that Theravāda Buddhism which in Burma to-day is of the Ceylonese form was originally introduced not from Ceylon but from South India, where in the time of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim I-ching (671-95) 'all followed the *Sthavira nikāya* though there existed a few adherents of other *nikāyas* also'.<sup>77</sup> In fact, it was not till the middle of the twelfth century that Ceylon came to play any important role in the history of Buddhism in Burma. It was in 1167 that Panthagu, the then Primate of the Burmese kingdom, chose Ceylon as his refuge, and in 1180 Uttarajīva, the Primate who had succeeded Panthagu returned from a pilgrimage to Ceylon as the "First Pilgrim of Ceylon". In 1190 Capata, Uttarajīva's disciple, earned the title of the "Second Pilgrim of Ceylon", and on his return tried to convert the whole realm to the Ceylonese form. These missions and intercourses coupled with Capata's attempts to Ceylonise Burmese Buddhism led to the gradual predominance of Ceylonese Buddhism in Burma and the wiping out of even the memory of the original source. But

77 Takakusu, *It-sing's Records of the Buddhist Religion*, p. xxiii-xxiv.

to this chapter of the history of the religion in Burma we shall have occasion to turn later on.

But it is somewhat curious to find that in the whole range of Pāli commentaries and chronicles composed in Ceylon during the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, there is nowhere any mention of the old kingdom or capital of Prome which, as testified to by the Pāli inscriptions and Buddhist sculptures and monuments, was an important centre where Theravāda Buddhism flourished. There in the Ceylonese chronicles and in the huge mass of commentarial literature incidental references to places made well-known by their association with Buddhism are but numerous; we might, therefore, reasonably expect to find a reference to this old kingdom in the *Mahāvamsa* or at least in the *Cullavamsa*, but we are disappointed. May be, the place has been mentioned in some name which has not yet been identified; or as the religion of Prome, as we have suggested was not introduced from Ceylon and had consequently nothing to do with their country the chroniclers and commentators did not feel inclined to give it a place in their works. It may also be accounted for by the secular hostility during all these centuries between the natives of Ceylon and the Indians of the South, north of the Straits, which naturally disposed the Ceylonese authors to ignore the work of their enemies.

(To be continued.)

## MISCELLANY

### Date of the Earliest Sanskrit Inscription of Campā.

DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

The famous Vo-chañh Rock inscription was edited by Bergaigne<sup>1</sup> and commented upon by Finot.<sup>2</sup> It has been re-edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his *Champā*.<sup>3</sup> It has been pointed out that several lines at the beginning of the record are lost; that the inscription, composed in Sanskrit, may be referred, on palaeographic grounds, to the second or third century A.D.; and that there are two verses in *Vasantatilakā* metre in the record the rest of which is in prose<sup>4</sup>.

It seems to me that palaeography has misled scholars in determining the date of the Vo-chañh inscription. The language, style and the metre used in the record prove, in my opinion, that the inscription is later—at least not earlier than the fourth century A.D.

It is known to all students of Indian epigraphy that almost all Indian records (both of kings and private persons), earlier than the first century A.D., are written in Prakrit. Sanskrit was not in general use even in the second century A.D. This century, however, offers us a number of inscriptions written in Prakrit mixed with Sanskrit, and also a few records like the Junagadh Sanskrit record of Rudradāman (c. 130—50 A.D.) which "points to the victory of

1 *Notices et Extraits de Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, etc., tome 27, 1ere partie fascicule 2e, N° 20, p. 191.

2. *B.E.F.E.O.*, XV, No. 2, p. 3.

3. R. C. Majumdar, *Anc. Ind. Colonies in the Far East*, I, Lahore, 1927, Book III, pp. 1. ff.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1.



Sanskrit over the inscriptional Prakrit in some quarters of western and north-western India. Generally speaking, Sanskrit began to gradually oust Prakrit from the field of epigraphy in that part of India about the second century A.D. ; but the victory was not complete before the fourth century. Prakrit lost the field in South Indian epigraphy only about the middle of the fourth century A.D. These points have been fully discussed in my paper, *Inscriptional Evidences relating to the Development of Classical Sanskrit*.<sup>5</sup>

Now, which part of India was responsible for introducing the fashion of composing records in an Indian language in Far Eastern countries like Campā? Even if we believe that the colonists belonged to the western and north-western parts of India, we must admit that the Vo-chañh inscription is considerably later than the middle of the second century A.D., because its diction cannot be compared with any Indian inscription in Sanskrit earlier than the Junagadh inscription (150 A.D.) of Rudradāman. If the colonists belonged to Eastern India, the date of our record should be later, as there is no proof that Sanskrit became popular in that part of the country before the rise of the Guptas (320 A.D.). If, however, it is believed that the colonists went from near the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī, the Vo-chañh record can hardly be earlier than the closing years of the fourth century A.D., because Prakrit was the language of inscriptions in that part of India as late as the middle of the fourth century<sup>6</sup>.

5. *I.H.Q.*, December, 1938.

6. D. C. Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan*, Calcutta University, 1939, pp. 166 ff. It must be noted that the Cho Diñh Rock inscription which is palaeographically assigned to circa 400 A.D. (Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 3) refers to king Bhadravarman as *Dharma-mahārāja*. This is a typical South Indian style (Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 171 n.) Possibly the Cho Diñh record too should be placed several decades later.

Again, when were classical metres, like *Vasantatilakā*, extensively used in Indian epigraphs? Inscriptions prove that such metres were certainly not popular or in general use in India before the rise of the Guptas.<sup>7</sup> The Vo-chañh inscription which contains at least two verses in *Vasantatilakā* metre, can therefore be hardly assigned to a period earlier than first half of the fourth century A.D. It may be later ; but certainly not much earlier.

7. For the date of Patañjali who gives examples of classical metres in the *Mahābhāṣya*, see my paper in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, December, 1938.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Social and Physical Anthropology of the Nayadis of Malabar:** By A. Aiyappan, M.A. (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. New Series. General Section, Vol. II., No. 4.). Madras, 1937. pp iii+1 to 141. Price, Rs. 3-2-0.

Mr. Aiyappan is to be congratulated on the publication of this nice monograph on an interesting untouchable caste of the extreme south of India. The authorities of the Madras Government Museum have also maintained their tradition of unstinted support and steady encouragement of anthropological research ushered in by Thurston. So long Indian ethnography has been devoted to the study of its tribal population as a result of which we have a number of excellent monographs on the tribes of the Nilgiri Hills, Assam and the Chota Nagpur Plateau. The Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Lucknow have recently undertaken the study of a number of other tribes. But unfortunately the detailed study of individual castes have so long been systematically neglected by both scholars and institutions. Three years ago Mr. N. A. Thoothi published his voluminous account of the Vaishnavas of Gujrat in which he dealt with the different sects of this religious order which is composed of Hindu castes. Mr. Aiyappan's account of the Nayadis is a true caste-monograph written on the lines of tribal monographs and so can be styled as first of its order. In selecting a group on the border lines of caste organization Mr. Aiyappan has put the anthropological theorist under a deep debt of gratitude by presenting him with a vivid picture of the life and manners of "the meanest of the mean among the Hindus, - - - who pollute by their approach even the Pariah."

The book consists of three parts. The first part, which deals with culture, gives a fairly detailed account of the habitat, ethnic environment, material culture, social organi-

zation, ceremonial life, and religion and magic of the caste. This part is brought to an end with a very useful account of the measures adopted by different bodies to improve the condition of the Nayadis and their response to such outside stimuli. The second part delineates the physical characters of the people, while the third one contains the records of actual measurements, a glossary of vernacular words used in the book and the index. The book is brought to an end with twelve plates including a map of the area inhabited by the Nayadis.

The Nayadis are a short, dolichocephalic, platyrrhine people with an extremely hypsicephalic head. Their head hair is flat (low), wavy and deep black in colour. Compared with their neighbours they are "midway between the hill tribes and the castes of the plains." According to our author "though the figures do not reveal it sufficiently, there is present among the Nayadis a very small percentage of individuals relatively shorter in stature and darker in complexion and with broader face than the rest, closely resembling the Veddoid primitive."

The Nayadis now occupy the three southern taluks of the Malabar District and the northernmost part of the Cochin State adjacent to Ponnani taluk. According to our author they live on the outskirts of the deciduous forests, on the lower slopes of the Ghats and their spurs and from the distribution of the caste it appears that the trend of migration had been from the east towards the west. This was brought about by a movement of the peoples from the plains of the west towards the forests of the east owing to economic pressure. Thus, the Nayadis came to live among the Hindu castes. Their number according to the Census returns of 1931 is 709 only, but according to our author the 144 Nayadis of Travancore State are really Ulladans. So the actual number comes to 565 only.

According to Dr. Gundert the word Nayadi has two meanings: (1) a hunter, and (2) 'the lowest caste of jungle dwellers ordered to retire seventy-four steps from the high castes.' The latter meaning fixes the social position of the

caste at the lowest level in the area under consideration. Above them are the Cherumans, Iravans, and Nayars who pollute the Namputiri Brahmin from a distance of 64 ft., 32 ft., and 7ft., respectively. "It is said that, in order to purify oneself after being polluted by a Nayadi, one should bathe in seven streams and seven tanks, and then let out a few drops of blood from a little finger." This clearly indicates the attitude of orthodox Hinduism towards this wretched group of humanity.

Begging forms the main occupation of the caste and is the chief source of its livelihood. "The Nayadis live chiefly on what they receive as alms on various occasions from the rest of the Hindu community. It is the privilege and right of the Nayadis to beg and it is the duty of the others to give." Charity has been woven into the fabric of Hindu faith and according to our author, in the South, charity to particular castes such as Nayadis, Pulluvans and others, is more meritorious than to ordinary beggars (*pichchakkars*). "It is a sin not to give privileged beggars....., just as it is a sin not to give to Brahmins." The ordinary beggars (*pichchakkars*) have no right to demand charity but have to depend on and rouse the sympathy of the rich. Thus the Nayadis occupy a privileged position even in their miserable existence. There are special days and occasions on which they receive charity. Thus, on birth-days and at the conclusion of death-rituals high caste people make gifts to them. When a person falls seriously ill gifts are made to the Nayadi to ward off death. These are his main sources of livelihood at present.

It has been stated that the word Nayadi means 'hunter.' In the *Keralotpatti* hunting is mentioned as the profession of the Nayadis while in the *Nayattuvidhi*, an ancient treatise on hunting, they are spoken of as "friends who stand at hand" at the time of hunting. In a Portuguese Manuscript of about 1676 A.D. they are referred to as a caste of hunters who have no other occupation and who "are obliged to accompany the Naire, Gentio and Christian hunters." Welsh in his *Military Reminiscences* (1730)



refers to exchange of jungle products for necessities of life between the Nayadis and the peoples of the plains. He also writes about their manufacture of rude baskets and ropes for sale and their skifulness in scouring the jungles. Visscher (1743) also speaks of them as hunters who live on the flesh of wild beasts supplemented by herbs and roots so much so that there were persons among them who had never tasted rice. Thus, up to the middle of the 18th century they appear to have been hunters and collectors of roots and fruits and we have no mention of their begging habits. But at the beginning of the 19th century Buchanan (1803) perhaps records for the first time that the Nayadis chiefly subsist on begging besides working as beaters in hunting and as watchers of crops. Lt. Connor in 1833 wrote that the Nayadis depend on charity while in Pharoah's Gazetteer (1855) they are characterised as beggars by birth and trade. Thus from the beginning of the 19th century they are characterised as an worthless set of vagabonds living on charity. This transformation of the Nayadis is ascribed by Mr. Aiyappan to "the rigidity of the forest laws, and the Arms Act and the difficulty of making a living by chase" which forced them to give up their ancestral occupation and become beggars. This was further accelerated by increase of population in the plains leading to cultivation of forest land which deprived the Nayadis of their natural environment and the basis of their economic life. This may, however, account for their giving up the old mode of subsistence but it does not at the same time supply sufficient grounds for their adoption of beggary as a profession. Mr. Aiyappan has not also tried to give any reason for the absence of any attempt on the part of the Nayadis to move further into the interior of the forest-clad hills where they could have easily practised their previous mode of living. In other parts of India whenever the habitat of a forest tribe is attacked by the dwellers of the plains it either moves further into the interior or adopts the more improved economic methods of the trespassers and therewith fight against them. Moreover,

the position of the Nayadis is of a peculiar nature. They are neither an order of religious mendicants nor a group of common beggars who have taken to this means of livelihood owing to indigent circumstances as the *pichchakkars*. They form a caste of professional beggars, secure in their privileged position owing to association with the religious beliefs and customs of the higher caste Hindus. How they attained this privileged position has not been pointed out. In other parts of India such privileges are enjoyed by the Brahmins mainly and other orders of religious mendicants together with outcaste Brahmins. But in the South, it appears, a number of low castes enjoy this privilege along with the Brahmins and other religious orders. The traditional genetic relation of the Nayadis with the Brahmins as well as their midway position between the higher castes and the lower castes and tribes, both physically and culturally, may give us a clue to their real origin. The case of the Agradāniya Brahmins of Bengal is suggestive in this connection.

The Nayadis live in small settlements of three or four huts away from the domiciles of other castes. They build thatched huts with mud walls on raised plinths of beaten earth. Every settlement has a *mannu* which is a sacred spot under a big tree where a number of blocks of stone link the living with the dead and the supernatural.

The social organization of the Nayadis is very simple. "Each kinship and family group have their area (*desam*) for begging clearly delimited by will-marked boundaries. The owner of a begging division mortgages or sells his right in the area in times of need." Besides these economic groupings, they are also divided into number of patrilineal *illams* (house) or *kuttam* (horde) which correspond to the *tarvad* of the other castes. The *illam* is an exogamous body and its members may be found either in one settlement or in a number of villages separated by considerable distance. There is some difference between the social status of the different *illams*. Each *illam* has a name of its own, some of which are derived from place-names.

The Nayadis "usually marry cross-cousins and only in their absence classificatory cross-cousins.....Remarriages are rare, widows being usually taken over by the brothers of the deceased husbands." The last part of the preceding sentence is not however clear. Is it a mere case of maintenance without sexual intimacy or both without any ceremonial function? On page 55 the author states that the widows usually remarry and on page 58 he refers to the custom of levirate in Walluvanad taluk and its absence in Palghat taluk. Thus, there is some contradiction between the evidence of the genealogical tables and abstract statement of marriage customs, which have not been accounted for.

The instance of transference of wife to a parallel cousin recorded on page 40 may be the effect of general rules of divorce and remarriage and do not show a new custom. The author has not unfortunately recorded which of the cousins is elder, as it would have given us an opportunity to test the arguments in favour of senior levirate put forward on page 58.

Marriage is a common incident in the life of a Nayadi. Mr. Aiyappan refers to obligatory cross-cousin marriage but does not give particulars about its working and the degree of compulsion, nor does he mention whether both the types of cross-cousin marriage occur or only one type. He, however, records an actual case of marriage with the mother's brother's daughter but as to the other type there is no reference. Betrothal often takes place when the parties are very young and the author speaks of pre-marital and even pre-puberty sexual union between prospective brides and bridegrooms. The bride-wealth is nominal when the marriage occurs between the children of brother and sister and in most cases it ranges between Rs. 2/- and Rs. 4/- only. The bridegroom's sister plays an important part in the marriage rites and no Nayadi marriage is possible without her.

The mortuary practices of the Nayadis differ in the different taluks owing to difference in the degree of absorption of

Hindu culture. Thus in the Ponnani taluk burial is practised while in Walluvanad cremation is the rule. They strongly believe in the survival of the dead. The spirit of the deceased is supposed to move about till it is 'housed' in the *mannu* either on the 15th day after death or at the conclusion of the first year. A piece of stone or sometimes a rough representation in wood is set up in the *mannu* at this time with offerings of food.

The religion of the Nayadis consists of worship of the gods and the ancestors. Their ritual attitude to both the categories is practically the same. Both are represented in the *mannu* with pieces of stone—bigger pieces for the gods and the smaller ones for the ancestors. "The ancestors though sacred, are intermediate between the gods and living men. Gods are universally worshipped and are common to all, while the 'elders' who were members of a particular kinship group only, are not paid special regard by outsiders, except that in a very few instances the spirit of a particularly brilliant hunter or magician is worshipped by a larger group than this now kin." Maladaivam (the god of the hills), Kali (the famous Hindu goddess) and Chattan are some of the more important deities of the Nayadis, who are worshipped in the *mannu*. They also believe in a Supreme God who is sometimes identified with the sun but he is not worshipped on any occasion though he is invoked at times of difficulty and oaths are taken in his name. There are shamans who officiate in the sacred rites but it is not clearly mentioned who act as shamans. The Nayadis "do not share the Hindu concepts of rebirth, hell, heaven and the Hindu theory of Karma." The higher castes attribute to them the knowledge of powerful black magic and this belief is of some economic value to the Nayadis who are, as a result, sometimes employed to watch gardens against thieves or to repel attacks of pests.

In conclusion, we welcome this well-informed and well-written monograph on an untouchable caste about which the anthropologists have very little idea, and con-

gratulate Mr. Aiyappan for treading on a new path in the history of ethnography in India.

T. C. DAS

**New Catalogus Catalogorum:** A complete and up-to-date Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors. Published under the Authority of the University of Madras. Provisional fasciculus. Madras 1937.

It is a happy sign of the times that Indian scholars have of late been engaged in research based on real and intensive study of Mss some of which have seen the light of day but many are, and will remain, embedded in the archives of Mss. collections. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, the encyclopaedic Ms. bibliography and index which has helped and inspired Oriental research for more than three decades is badly in need of being supplemented with accounts of numerous Mss. that have since come to light. The Madras University is to be heartily congratulated on its undertaking this much-needed task. The provisional fasciculus which was published some months ago bears ample evidence of the earnest endeavours of the band of scholars working under the guidance of MM. Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri who has achieved the distinction of organising a school (*sampradāya*) of competent and sincere researchers in the different departments of Indology. The Oriental scholar shall have to be thankful to the Editorial Board as much for the new light thrown on comparatively well-known works and authors (e.g. the *Akārādinighaṇṭu*, *Akālajalada* and *Aghoraśivācārya*) and on presentation of new items of textual criticism (e.g. under *Agastyasanihitā* and the *Agnipurāṇa*) as for the new entries which, so far as the present part is concerned, are at least as numerous as the old ones. While appreciating the magnitude of this "stupendous cultural task" that the Board has undertaken and thanking it for its creditable achievement, one would like to draw its attention to a few important points. Unnecessary duplication (e.g. on *Akṣobhyaśīrṣa*, *Akaṇḍārthadīpikā*, *Agāravi-*



*noda*, *Akṣapāda*) which in several cases are *verbatim* reprints from Aufrecht's work, could easily have been dispensed with. The mispagination (pp. 9-16) is regrettable printing. Some of the misprints, not all of which are noted in the appended errata (e.g. on p. 11 under Agastya, MM. Gananath Sen has been shown as MM. Ganganath Sen) are somewhat confusing. The tendency to overburden a work which is primarily meant for the antiquarian with entries of very late or modern works of questionable value (e.g. the *Aniśubodhinī* and the *Sāhityapraṇāsa* of Akṣaya Kumar Vidyāvinoda) and with entries of many unimportant works of a particular province (e.g. the *Agastyāṣṭaka*, *Agastyeśvarāṣṭaka*, *Akṣaramālikāstava*, *Akṣaramālikāryā*) should be checked. One hopes that the item No. 5 in the Preface, *viz.*—incorporation of works and authors known through citations alone with appropriate references as far as possible—should receive its proper share of attention. It is also to be desired that the names of works obviously misspelt in Mss. be corrected by queries within brackets (e.g. *Aṅgirākalpa* = *Angirah-kaḥpa*?, *Aṅgirāprī* = *Aṅgirah-Āprī*?). It is a pity that in some cases the reports of compilers of Mss have not been checked. Such is the case with *Akāla-bhāskara* where the entry is based on what is reported in R. L. Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. VII, p. 36, the work really treating of impure periods of the year in general, and not merely of the intercalary months. This has presumably been due to lack of co-ordination. Attention may also be drawn to the need of avoiding a partisan spirit such as has been done on p. 24 under the *Agnismṛti* and on p. 13 under the *Agastyasaṁhitā*. What is wanted is an unambiguous statement of views when they tend to be unanimous, and, when necessary, a clear reference to the views of different scholars, leaving it to further research to solve the problem. A suggestion may be offered in this connection. The Editorial Board will be well-advised in seeking the assistance of scholars of different provinces who could check Mss written in local scripts, and of those who are authorities on their respective subjects, so that no subject can go by default.

These are minor defects in a work which has been begun at the right moment and at the right place and which, it is hoped, will be carried through in the proper spirit, and, when completed, will redound to the credit of the Madras University and will afford the scholarly world all help and guidance that can be expected of it.

SHIVA PRASAD BHATTACHARYA.

**La littérature Chinoise** by Basile Alexéiev. Published in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paul Geuthner, 12 Rue Vavin.

The book contains six lectures of which three were delivered in the Collège de France and the rest in the Musée Guimet. The author is a recognised sinological authority and needs no fresh introduction. The first three lectures deal with the Chinese literature with special reference to its ideology, its foreign translations and readers and the last three with Chinese poetry with special reference to its ideology, its poetical values and reformist tendencies. The author tells us that to understand properly the Chinese literature it is necessary to have an exact idea of the ancient religions of China, Confucianism and Taoism. These two religions influenced the ancient literature so well that the Chinese literature acquired two primary tendencies *viz.* to propagate the 'truth' and to arouse a sense of beatitude completely divorced from the reality. Ignorance of these tendencies has falsified the foreign translations of the ancient Chinese works. The Christian and Buddhist translations of foreign texts into Chinese are also equally bad. Both these translations are unintelligible to the Chinese and have never been liked by them. The Buddhist missionaries in China however before placing the translated texts in the hands of the Chinese, had given them a well-organised cult which perfectly responded to the elementary religious sentiments. This helped the Chinese to understand the Buddhist texts better than the translations of the

Bible to understand which they had no preparation. The other lectures of M. Alexéiev are illuminating and contain not only a novel treatment of the Chinese literature but also a critical estimate of the new tendencies in the contemporary Chinese literature.

P. C. B.

**Krishna-Lila**, ou *Mystère de l' Avatār de Krishṇa*, épisode extrait du *Mahābhārata*. Traduit et adapté du tamoul, par Saktivél. Preface de Adrien Juvanon, pp. xii+182. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner. Paris 1937.

This book is meant for the general public. The author gives here in outline the legend of Kṛṣṇa—specially the amorous part of it—on the basis of its Tamil version. No attempt has been made to utilise the original sources or to determine the historical position of the Tamil version. Kṛṣṇa's exploits, such as the *Vastraharaṇa* of the *Gopīs*, have been described with embarrassing details supplied partly by the author's own exuberant imagination. Yet Mr. Juvanon in his preface does not hesitate to connect *this* Kṛṣṇa with the "belles leçons et haute moralité." It is difficult to find what purpose will be served by this book.

B. G.

### **Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat.**

By Daya Ram Sahni. Published by the Department of Archaeology and Historical Research, Jaipur State, 1937.

Discoveries of the remnants of two Aśokan pillars and a temple of an entirely new type as well as a monastery, both erected by the great Buddhist emperor, are some of the startling results obtained by the late Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India and first Director of Archaeological and Historical Research in Jaipur State (Rajputana) during the excavations at Bairat in 1936.

Traditionally associated with the Pāṇḍava heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, who passed their thirteenth year of con-

cealment at Virāṭapura, the capital of Virāṭa kings of the Matsya country, the ancient site of Bairat was visited and examined by Cunningham in 1864-65 and by his assistant Mr. Carleylle in 1871-72 and lastly by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in 1909-10. The importance of the site and its former glory is fully attested by a series of surviving architectural monuments of the Hindu and Muslim periods.

Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni points out that the famous so-called Bhābru Rock-Edict of Aśoka was found not at Bhābru but at Bairat itself. So the discovery of other Aśokan relics at the latter place is not surprising. The exposed remains are distributed on two distinct platforms on a hill known as Bijak-kī-pāhārī or the "inscription hill" as it contained the Edict found by Captain Burt in 1840. The excavations have brought to light the ruins of a brick monastic establishment on the upper platform. One of the cells yielded a small pottery jar full of 36 silver coins, eight of which wrapped in a piece of cloth, were punch-marked and the other 28 were of Greek and Indo-Greek kings. According to Sahni the discovery of the coins leads to three important conclusions, *viz.*, that punch-marked coins continued to be circulated down to the 1st century A.D. or even to a later period, that Bairat and the adjoining areas formed part of the Greek and Indo-Greek dominions and that the said monastery continued to be in occupation until about 50 A.D. Other portable antiquities from this area include terracotta Yakṣī figures akin to the Mathura specimens and a pilaster.

But diggings in the lower platform revealed the most important ruin in the form of a circular brick temple with remains of octagonal columns partly brick and partly wooden surrounded by a rectangular enclosure wall. "This is the oldest structural temple and one of those which furnished models for the numerous rock-cut cave temples of Western and Eastern India. The nearest approach, both in plan and design to this newly discovered temple is the *caitya* cave of about the 1st century B.C. in the Tulja Lena group at Junnar." That this temple was undoubtedly the work

of Aśoka is proved by the find of fragmentary remains of two pillars in Chunar sandstone with the characteristic Maurya polish and the Brāhmī inscriptions of the Aśokan period on walls of the temple.

This clearly-printed and well-illustrated monograph is otherwise interesting reading but for a grave historical error which has crept into the text. The destruction of the pillars, opines Sahni, "could not have taken place at such a late date as the end of the 12th century A.D., when Shihab-ud-Din Ghorī destroyed the Buddhist remains at Sarnath or the 14th century A.D. when Bakhtiyar Khalji massacred the shaven-headed Buddhist monks in Behar and Nalanda monasteries." History records that Mahammad-i-Bakhtiyar conquered Bihar about 1197 A.D.

D. P. GHOSH.

**Swami Sadananda:** *Pilgrimage to Greater India*, pp. iv+45, 12 pls. with Preface by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee.

*Ibid.*, *Bṛhattara Bhārater Pūjāpārvaṇ* (in Bengali) ix+60, 20 pls.

*Ibid.*, *Kamboja* (in Bengali) pp. iv+36

*Ibid.*, *Campā*, pp. iv+28, 8 plates with a foreword by Jitendra Nath Banerjea.

*Ibid.*, *Malay*, 1938 pp. ii+38 with a foreword by Dr. P. C. Bagchi.

*Ibid.*, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, 1938, pp. iv+38, 8 plates with a foreword by O. C. Gangoly.

This series of small handbooks printed on good paper with a number of beautiful plates is a record of travels of a simple Bengali monk of the Daśnāmī sect in the lands of Indo-China, Indonesia from 1932 onwards. Written in a lively and animated style with no pretence to scholarly accuracy or completeness, but inspired by a feeling of intense reverence for our ancestral culture, these sketches should make an earnest appeal to the large section of our countrymen who have neither the time nor the opportunity to go to the



more authoritative publications on the subject. It is further to be hoped that the author's repeated lament about the neglect of Greater India studies by Indian scholars and even his shrewd suggestions on many points raised by him in the course of his descriptions will provoke a greater interest in scholarly circles in this country than has been the case heretofore.

In the *Pilgrimage to Greater India* the author passes in review the well-known centres of Hindu culture in Cambodia, Java and Bali. He gives short descriptions of Angkor Thom with the Bayon, Angkor Vat and other buildings of this group. Coming to Java, he describes some selected images from the Batavian Museum, his experience of shadow-plays with the *gamelan* orchestra at Jogjakarta, and his impressions of Prambanan and Borobudur. Then follows his sketch of Bali island containing interesting notices of funeral ceremonies, feasts and cults as well as social institutions of the people.

The *Bṛhattara Bhārater Pūjāpārvan* (The Cults and Festivities of Greater India) contains three sections, *viz.*, gods, and goddesses, popular amusements, and form of worship, along with four Appendices. Among the points noticed by the author are the paucity of *liṅga* form of Śiva, the complete absence of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa images, the aboriginal cult-influences, the frequency of Arjuna images and so forth. Coming to the popular amusements the author gives attractive sketches of dance and music, of plays (specially shadow-play) etc. that are in vogue in Java and Bali. Dealing with the forms of worship, he makes some weighty but unfortunately short remarks regarding the points of similarity and contrast between Hindu and Balinese ritual. These observations derived from the author's intimate knowledge of Hindu religious ritual have to be carefully considered by specialists. The same remark applies to Appendices II and III containing short notices of the *mantras* and the *mudrās* that are used by the Balinese priests down to the present times.

In *Kamboja* (in Bengali) the author brings together a number of references to a country and people called by this name in the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇas* and so forth. From these he draws a number of inferences about the early history of Cambodia and its relations with India. The value of these remarks is minimised by the author's neglect to locate the Kambojas of Hindu literature along with the Śakas and Yavanas on the north-west frontier.

In *Campā*, the author after dealing briefly with the race, language and religion of the Chams, gives a short history of their country from the early period of Hindu colonisation to the Annamite conquest. This is followed by a series of discourses in the course of which the author while paying a well-deserved tribute to the work of the French School of the Far East, pleads for a systematic interpretation of the archaeological and other data from the point of view of the Hindu *śāstras*. Then follows a short account of Cham images compared with their Indian counterparts.

*Suvarṇadvīpa*, which the author somewhat loosely equates with Sumatra, is the title of another work in which we are told at some length about the original inhabitants of the island, the Achins, the Bataks, the Minangkabaus and others. Then follow some disjointed notes on the rise and fall of the Śrīvijaya kingdom, which the author identifies with the Śailendra empire. This identification, it will be remembered, has recently been questioned on good grounds.

In *Malay*, the author after tracing the geography and the ethnology of the people, traces their history from the beginning of Indian colonisation to the advent of Islam. Then follows a short section on Malacca containing the history of the kingdom down to the time of Portuguese conquest in 1510. This is followed by short sketches of the history of Singapore (with a notice of the Raffles Museum) and of Johore in the 18th century. It is to be regretted that a number of mistakes has crept into this work.

**Samādhirañjasūtra**, chaps. VIII, XIX, and XXII. Edited with Tibetan version, English Translations and Notes by K. Régamey. The Warsaw Society of Sciences and Letters. Publications of the Oriental Commission. 1938, pp. 111.

The publication of a portion of the *Samādhirañja* came as a happy surprise to me as I had been working on a ms. of this sūtra found at Gilgit. It is one of the nine major texts of the Nepalese Buddhists, but its value so far has not been very much appreciated on account of its prolixity and endless repetitions, the sad characteristics of most of the early Mahāyāna texts. It is really a matter of gratification for us to find that two distinguished scholars, like Prof. S. Schayer and Dr. Régamey though living at Warsaw have essayed the arduous task of editing the whole text overcoming many handicaps usually encountered by scholars living so far off from India.

This sūtra was better known to the ancients as *Candra-pradīpa-sūtra* or *Sarvadharmasamatāvipañcita-sūtra*, by which two titles we generally find references in the early works like those of Śāntideva. As the editor Dr. Régamey has utilised four mss., the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the work and above all the Tibetan commentaries, there is very little to be said about the readings of the text. The mss. though numbering four are generally derived from one archetype and hence they are not of much value, but the Tibetan renderings help us in settling the doubtful readings. The printing of the text in Roman characters does not appeal to us very much and particularly the gāthās in running lines.

The three chapters selected by the editor for giving an idea of the doctrinal standpoint of the sūtra deal with *abhāvasvabhāvajñāna*, (things are really non-existent); *acintyabuddhadharmanirdeśa* (inconceivable nature of Buddha-dharmas); and *tathāgatakāya* (the real body of the Buddha). The editor traces in this sūtra not the extreme *Śūnyavāda* of Nāgārjuna but the *Śūnyavāda* of the Yogācāra School, which posits the pure *citta* as the ultimate essence. In chap. XIX, there is nothing of much importance except

that it attempts to magnify the merits of the 'Samādhi', the principal theme of the work, to an infinite extent. The editor's observation on the Kāya conceptions based on chap. XXII, are valuable and are in agreement with mine expressed in my '*Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*'. The English rendering is quite good and the Sanskrit-Tibetan—Chinese Index is indeed very useful. The attention given by the editor to the metres of the gāthās and the variant readings deserve commendation and reveals how much labour and energy has been devoted by him to make the edition as thorough as possible. This, of course, has been partly possible for concentrating his energies on a very small portion of the work; but for us it will be useful as we shall be able to place it in the hands of our students as a text-book and an ideal edition of a Buddhist-Sanskrit work.

N. DUTT

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE GREATER  
INDIA SOCIETY FROM 1st APRIL 1937  
TO 31st DECEMBER 1938

*General*

The Greater India Society completed the eleventh year of its existence in 1938. The record of the Society's work during the period under review was on the whole one of steady progress.

*Management*

A number of changes took place in the constitution of the Managing Committee during this period. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Hony. Secretary, being absent from India for nearly four months (August-October 1938), his place was temporarily filled by Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt. The Society was also temporarily deprived of the services of Dr. Kalidas Nag who visited Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines during a short period of four or five months. In November 1938 Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Special Officer for Exploration for the Archaeological Survey of India, who was for many years a member of the Managing Committee of the Greater India Society, lost his life under most tragic circumstances while exploring the pre-historic antiquities in Sind. The Managing Committee through the Hony. Secretary duly sent a message of condolence to the bereaved family of the late scholar.

During the period under review the Hony. Secretary continued to act as Editor of the Society's Journal over and above his usual duties. The constitution of the Journal Committee remained unchanged.

As in preceding years the important business of the Committee was disposed of as the occasion arose by circulation among the members.



*Office*

No change took place in the Office establishment. Mr. P. K. Sen, Chartered Accountant, again earned the thanks of the Committee by kindly acting as the Hony. Auditor of the Society's accounts for the third time in succession.

*Members and Subscribers*

The number of members on the Society's roll on 31st December 1938 showed a slight increase. The total number of subscribers to the Society's Journal reached a higher figure than in any previous year. While on this subject, the Committee cannot but convey its most sincere thanks to the Provincial Governments of India and the Indian Universities, to the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India and the Superintendents of different Archaeological Circles, to the Government Epigraphist for India and his subordinate officers and to the Governments of Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, Gwalior and Indore for continued patronage of the Society's Journal.

*Finance*

The closing balance of the Society's accounts on the 31st December 1938 was Rs. 1,148-9-8 as compared with the opening balance of Rs. 844-0-8 on the 1st April 1937. As against this favourable state of the Society's finances must be set its commitment *viz.*, the publication of Dr. Tucci's *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley* which is still in the Press. On the receipt side the Committee has gratefully to acknowledge the grant of Rs. 800/- from the National Council of Education, Bengal, at the rate of Rs. 400/- for two successive years, and of Rs. 100/- from Dr. Narendra Nath Law, one of its most valued members. The Committee is also indebted to Dr. Bimala Churn Law for a handsome donation of Rs. 500/- in support of the Society. During the nineteen months ended 31st December 1938, receipts under the head 'Sale Proceeds of Publications' amounted to Rs. 524-3-9 with which may be compared the figures for the preceding two

years, viz., Rs. 415-12-6 (1936-37) and Rs. 543-8-9 (1935-36). During the period under review subscriptions to the Society's Journal realised Rs. 353-0-0 as compared with Rs. 181-3-0 for the year 1936-37 and Rs. 229-13-0 for 1935-36. On the Expenditure side publications formed as in former years the heaviest item, accounting for Rs. 911-5-0 of which as much as Rs. 779-7-6 was incurred for cost of three issues of the Journal. These figures which cover a period of nineteen months obviously furnish no basis for comparison with the figures for the previous years. The same observations apply to the other items of expenditure, such as 'postal charges' and 'allowance to the staff' which last includes the typist's and proof-reader's charges for the Journal.

#### *Lectures*

During the period under notice seven popular lectures were delivered according to the terms of our agreement with the National Council of Education, Bengal, under the joint auspices of the Greater India Society and the National Council. The Lectures as in former years covered a wide variety of subjects as will appear from the subjoined list:— "India in Europe" (2 lectures) by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, "Institutions of Australia" (2 lectures) by Dr. Kalidas Nag, "Cultural Institutions in Philippines" by Dr. Kalidas Nag, "Mahāyānism in Burma" by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, "India and Oceania" by Dr. Kalidas Nag. The Committee conveys its thanks to all these gentlemen for their valued co-operation.

#### *Publications*

Four issues of the Journal appeared during this period, Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2, and Vol. V, Nos. 1 and 2. That the standard of the Journal was kept at its old level will appear from the fact that among its contributors were numbered some of the foremost authorities on their respective subjects and nearly all the first-rate journals on Greater India were on its exchange-list. Among other points of interests under this head the Committee has to mention that a considerable progress was made in the printing of Prof. G. Tucci's

*"Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley."* The Committee also mentions with satisfaction that Mr. H. B. Sarkar completed during this period his translation of Prof. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* of which the preliminary sheets were sent to the author for revision and were received back by the Secretary.

The Committee notes with concern that except one of the Bulletins all the rest are completely out of stock or very nearly so. The Committee hopes as in former years that new and revised editions of these useful works for which there is a steady demand will be undertaken at no distant date.

#### *Congresses and Conferences*

In December 1937 the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held its sessions at Trivandrum under the distinguished patronage of H. E. the Maharaja of Travancore. The Greater India Society was represented at the Conference by a number of delegates, including Mr. O. C. Gangoly, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Mr. J. N. Banerjea and the Hony. Secretary. The delegates participated in the proceedings of the Conference under their respective sections. The Hony. Secretary utilised the opportunity of the visit of Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Head of the Archaeological Department, Java, and one of the distinguished delegates from abroad present at the Conference for settling an exchange of photographs of the Javanese Archaeological Department for a set of the Society's publications. These precious photographs, numbering more than 70, have since been received by the Society.

In August 1938 the Hony. Secretary attended by invitation the Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences at Zurich where he read a paper in the section "History of Non-European Lands" of which he was appointed Vice-President. The Twentieth session of the International Congress of Orientalists was held at Brussels in the following week and was attended by Drs. U. N. Ghoshal and S. K. Chatterjee as representatives of the Greater India Society

and the Calcutta University. Both of them offered papers under their respective sections and otherwise participated in the proceedings of the Congress. In September 1938, Dr. Kalidas Nag attended the Second sessions of the British Commonwealth Relations Conference at Sydney in the capacity of a representative of the Government of India.

### *Library*

During the period under review the Society's collection of books etc. continued to be enriched with a constant stream of publications received by exchange or for purpose of review. These were made over according to the arrangement made in the previous year to the Calcutta University Library where they were kept as a separate collection.

### *Conclusion*

In concluding this brief report of the working of the Society for the period from 1st April 1937 to 31st December 1938, the Committee cannot but express its most sincere thanks to those patrons and well-wishers of the Society who have contributed to its success. Apart from the National Council of Education and from Drs. Narendra Nath Law and B. C. Law who made handsome donations to the Society's funds, the Committee is thankful to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee and Dr. Narendra Nath Law for free advertisements of the Society's publications in their respective papers. The Committee however feels that more funds are needed for meeting the Society's urgent needs such as its own building with some additional furnitures. Still more is the Society's need for young recruits who will worthily carry on the work that it has started under difficult circumstances. The Committee appeals to every patriotic man and woman of India to take up this work and it earnestly trusts that its appeal will not go in vain.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

The Greater India Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the following books, periodicals, pamphlets etc. during the last six months.

### *Periodicals*

- Adyar Library Bulletin (Brahma-Vidyā)*, Vol. II, pts. 3 and 4; Vol. III, pt. 1, Madras, 1938-39.
- Anekānta* (in Hindi), Nov. 1938, Shahrānpur.
- Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XIX, pt. III, Poona 1938.
- Annual Report (1937-38) of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona 1938.
- Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, deel 97, vierde afl., 1938
- Buddha-Prabhā*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Bombay 1938
- Bulletin of the Colonial Institute of Amsterdam*, Vol. II, Nos. 1 and 2, Amsterdam 1939.
- Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. IX, pt. 4, London 1939
- Cahiers de l' Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient*, No. 16, Hanoi 1938.
- Djāwā*, Jaarg., 18, No. 6 ; 19, No. 1, Jogjakarta 1938-39.
- Jaarverslag (1937-38)*, Kern Institute, Leiden 1938
- Journal of the Annamalai University*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, Annamalainagar, 1939.
- Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. VI, Nos. 3 and 4, Gauhati 1938-39.
- Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVII, pt. 3, Madras 1938.
- Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, pt. II, Singapore, 1938.
- Mahā-Bodhi*, Vol. 46, No. 12, Calcutta, 1938.
- Man in India*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 2 & 3; 4, Ranchi, 1938.



*Nāgarī-Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, (in Hindi) Vol. 43, No. 1, Benares 1938.

*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Jahrg. 14, 1 and 2/3 heft, Berlin 1938.

*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 2 and 3, Bangalore 1938-39.

*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, deel LXXIX, afl. 1, Batavia 1939.

*Books, pamphlets etc.*

ARAVAMUTHAN, T.G., *Catalogue of Venetian Coins in the Madras Govt. Museum*, Madras 1938.

*The Family of Nations* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), New York 1938.

NAERSEN, F.H. VAN, *Inscripties van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde te Leiden*, Batavia 1938.

REGAMEY, K., *The Bhāḍramāyākhāḍavyākaraṇa*, Warsaw 1938. *Three Chapters from the Saṁādhirājasūtra*, Warsaw 1938.

*Uittreksel uit de Oudheidkundige Verslagen over 1931-1935* (Kon. Bat. Gen. v. Kunst. en Wett.), Batavia 1937.

## Select Contents from Oriental Journals

- India and Old Ceylon* by V. SRINIVASAN (QJMS., Vol. xxix, Nos. 3 & 4).
- Het Groote Tienjaarlijkse Feest* by R. GORIS (Djawa, Vol. xix, No. 2).
- Ugrian Fishing Implements and some Indian Parallels* by B. BONNERJEA (*Man in India*, Vol. xviii, No. 4).
- Two silver plate grants from the Batavia Museum* by K. A. N. SASTRI (*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Vol. lxxix, No. 1).
- Note on cultural relations between South-India and Java* by W. F. STUTTERHEIM (*Ibid.*)
- Een bizettingsbeeld van Koning Rājasa* (*Ibid.*)
- Een Oudjavaansch kapmes* (*Ibid.*)
- Inscripties van het Rijksmuseum voor Volk. te Leiden* by F. H. VAN Naerssen (*Bijdragen tot de Taal Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch- Indië*, Vol. 97, No. 4).
- The Date, Authorship, Contents and Some New MSS. of the Malay Romance of Alexander the Great* by R. O. WINSTEDT (*JRAS.*, Malay Branch, Vol. xvi, Pt. ii).
- The Kedah Annals* (*Ibid.*)
- Zur Geschichte der Chinesischen Plastik vom viii-xiv Jahrhundert* by L. BACHHOFFER (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 14, Pts. 2-3).

# THE JOURNAL OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

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## Contributions from the Mahāvamsa to our knowledge of the Mediaeval Culture of Ceylon

By DR. WILHELM GEIGER

(Continued from J.G.I.S. Vol. V, No. 2.)

### VI. SETTLEMENT—VILLAGES AND TOWNS

79. The Aryan colonisation of Ceylon had a purely agricultural character. The first settlements were a number of small villages (*gāma*) founded by the leaders of the Aryan immigrants in the fifth century B.C. There are two different traditions concerning this event in the chronicle. According to Mahāvamsa 7.39, 43-45 it was Vijaya who founded Tambapaṇṇinagara, whilst his companions built the villages Anurādhagāma, Upatissagāma, Ujjenī, Uruvelā and Vijitanagara. But according to 9.9-11 the villages Rāmagāma, Anurādhagāma, Uruvelā, Vijitagāma, Dīghāyu (*gāma*), and Rohaṇa were founded by six Śākya princes, the brothers of Bhaddakaccāna who was the consort of the second king Paṇḍuvāsudeva.

The historical kernel of these traditions may be the fact that the first stream of immigrants who, led by Vijaya, came from N.-W. India, was soon followed by another stream from

N.-E. India. But all these settlements had the character of villages, and it seems that they could be called *nagara* or *pura*, if they were in any way fortified and might serve as refuge in times of danger. The necessity of a fortification may sometimes have been felt, if the village was exposed to assaults of the wild aboriginal inhabitants of the island. But among the oldest settlements there are only two, the names of which end in *nagara*: Tambapaṇṇi and Vijitanagara, and the latter name alternates with Vijitagāma. According to the description in 25.28 it was indeed fortified. It had three trenches and was guarded by a high wall and furnished with iron-shod gates. Nevertheless, we are certainly justified in saying that at the beginning of the mediæval period of Sinhalese history there existed in Ceylon, with the only exception of Anurādhapura, hardly any settlement which had the character of a town. Anurādhapura itself which was founded by the fourth traditional king Paṇḍukābhaya near old Anurādhagāma, and which was from that time onwards the centre of the Aryan colony and the royal residence, could be called *pura*, because it was fortified with wall and trenches.

In the whole of the ancient Mahāvamsa, apart from Tambapaṇṇinagara and Vijitanagara, only six names of settlements are met with, which end in *nagara*, and among them two, Kalahanagara and Pajjotanagara, are expressly designated as villages (10.42; 25.51).

The Aryan immigrants came to Ceylon with the intention to found a new home where they could earn their livelihood by agriculture. But they forthwith came across a serious difficulty. The main corn cultivated in India was rice, but in Ceylon rice can be produced in sufficient quantities only where the yearly rainfall is over 75 inches. This is the case in the hilly country and in the south-western districts. But according to the tradition it was not these wet parts of the island that were first colonised by the Aryan immigrants, but the low-country and up-country north of the mountains. The Aryans came ashore in all probability somewhere on the

north-western coast between Mannar and Puttalam, so that they had before them the flat land which corresponds to the modern North-Central Province, and they settled there. The tradition is plausible, for the hilly country was too difficult of access, and in the south-western districts cultivation was checked by frequent and tremendous floods of the rivers. These parts of Ceylon came only later under the control of the Aryan colonists after they had established their rule in the more accessible open districts. But just in these districts where the Aryans first settled, the rainfall is only between 50 and 75 inches in a year, and they are also subject to periodical drought so that the wells become exhausted and the necessary supply of drinkable water is sometimes lacking in the hottest months.

Thus the Aryan colonists were from the very outset compelled to construct storage tanks in order to accumulate the surplus of the rain-water that had fallen during the wet months, for the watering of the paddy fields in the dry season. We may assume that Paṇḍus were their teachers and helpers in that task. This fact is pointed to by the tradition itself. For we learn from Mahāvamsa 7.48 sq. that at the request of Vijaya the Paṇḍu king did not only send to Ceylon maidens as wives for Vijaya and his companions, but also workmen (*pessiya-kāraṇe*) and many families of the various guilds, i.e. numerous artisans and craftsmen who were able to assist the Aryans in their undertakings. He probably hoped to extend his dominion over the Island with the help of those Aryan adventurers as pioneers.

80. The first tanks in ancient times seem to have been built by a group of families who were related with one another. They cleared the forest and built near the tank the huts which served as domicile for the single families. Such was the origin of a primitive Sinhalese village community (*gāma*). But the fields attached to a village and watered from the same tank, were not common property of the families who had erected the tank, but were divided into



shares, each being cultivated by one family. This type of a Sinhalese village remained the same during the mediæval period.

Now in Mahāvamsa 10.103 we come across the short notice that king Paṇḍukābhaya, about a century after the first colonisation, fixed the village-boundaries over the whole of the Island. This notice is important, for it seems to mean that at an early time a certain land-tenure was established in Ceylon which in course of centuries gradually developed into the complicated system prevailing from the mediæval period up to the present time. It would be beyond the scope of my work to enter into the details of that system, for the knowledge of which H. W. Codrington's *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue*, Colombo, 1938 (together with *de Lanerolle's* criticism and comment in the *Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Br. March, 1939*) may be consulted. It will be sufficient for our purpose to elucidate the principles on which the whole system is based and which are reflected in the historical facts and in the administrative regulations.

The fundamental idea, according to my opinion was the maxim that the king is the proprietor of the whole land. It is from this point of view that the administration of the kingdom becomes intelligible (cf. above 44 sq., *J. G. I. S.*, Vol. V. 1 sq.) Indeed, every progress of cultivation is under royal control. No new tank can be constructed nor any new village built without the permission of the magistrates who are the substitutes of the king. With this permission the king cedes a part of his property to the colonists, but the latter do not become proprietors, but only occupiers of the new colony. Not even timber can be fetched from the ownerless forest or a chena cultivation laid out in the wilderness without official sanction. The king may even present a village to one of his officials either as salary for his service or as reward for a single meritorious action. In this case he cedes his own rights concerning the village to the *bhikkhu* community or

to the official. But he nevertheless continues to be the proprietor, for the privilege can be withdrawn, as soon as it pleases the king. Lands dedicated to religious institutions, however, were always service-free, and thus monasteries could become great landed proprietors.

81. There can be no doubt that a mediæval village in Ceylon did not differ in appearance from a modern jungle village situated in a district which is not much influenced by European civilisation. The attractive and really charming picture of such a peaceful village drawn by H. Parker in the introduction to his *Village Folk-tales of Ceylon* would also perfectly suit a village of the mediæval period. Many centuries have passed without altering the character of an Indian village and the life of its inhabitants. The fields watered from the tank were a pleasant oasis within the gloomy wilderness. The houses or rather huts of the villagers were lying near the tank. They were thatched with straw or plaited cocoanut leaves, the walls made of clayed twigs. Each family had its own house and round it a small garden with a few fruit-bearing trees, cocoanut and arecapalms, bananas and mangoes. The villages were generally open, but sometimes, when they were infested by wild beasts, enclosed with a fence of briers. On his way to Gajabāhu's kingdom prince Parakkamabāhu came to such a village. His companions could not penetrate the enclosure, because it was full of terrible prickles, but the prince broke fearlessly through the fence and entered the village.

Villages in favourable situation could grow into market-places (*nigama*) where the neighbouring villagers would purchase from traders or craftsmen the articles necessary for their work and daily life. The people living in such larger villages were called *negamā*, but this word is also simply used as synonym with *janapadā*, country people in contrast with the inhabitants of a town.

82. The number of tanks and rural settlements was immense in Ceylon, and it appears to have been consider-

ably larger at a certain period, at least, than it is at present. Thousands of ruined or abandoned tanks have been discovered in the wilderness and were mapped out by the Survey, but the villages which aforetime stood near these tanks have disappeared, and the fields which had been watered from them are overgrown with jungle.

The apparent decline of agricultural activity has been explained in different ways. Some assumed as its cause the spreading of diseases like malaria, others catastrophes, such as pernicious floods or lasting drought. The destruction of tanks happened, of course, often enough owing either to an external accident or to the negligence of the villagers. But I see the main problem not in the decay of civilisation, but rather in the mere existence of such a vast number of small tanks in the wilderness. This seems to point to a temporary excess of population, but according to my opinion it is connected with historical events, namely, with the general insecurity and the political and economical disturbance during the dynastic struggles after the death of king Vijayabāhu I (1114), and yet more after the invasion and during the despotic rule of the usurper Māgha (1214-1233). I have the impression that the destructive influence of these events on Sinhalese civilisation has not been sufficiently taken into account.

From the graphic description in *Mahāvamsa* 61. 48-72 and 80. 59-79 we learn that in those times the best cultivated districts of the Island were recklessly devastated by an undisciplined soldiery who corrupted the good morals of the family, took away with violence the possessions of the wealthy people, and maltreated priests and laymen in every way.

It was in these times of fearful disorder and anarchy, I believe, that many families through fear of the persecution they had to suffer left their homes and fled into the forest, just as others found refuge on inaccessible rocks which they fortified. Since those who sought for security in the jungle came in great numbers, but in small groups,

they constructed many but small tanks where they hoped to find subsistence for themselves and their families.

Thus quite a new class of people arose in Ceylon who may aptly be called the 'Tank colonists.' These were the *Vannīs*. It is certainly not a mere chance that this name which seems to be connected with *Vana* 'forest' first occurs in the chronicle in 81. 17, just after the chapter in which the misrule of Māgha is described.

The tank colonists appear to have formed a separate well-organised union within the kingdom. They had their own headmen or 'kings,' and such Vannī kings existed in Patiṭṭhārattha (Northern Province) and in Rohaṇa (South-Eastern Province) and elsewhere (89. 51 sq.) *i.e.*, wherever there was jungle and forest. Vijayabāhu III who later on was the rival king of Māgha is said to have for fear of the foe withdrawn to inaccessible forests. He dwelled there for a long time and attained the royal dignity among the Vannīs (81. 10 sq.).

In the period of the Sinhalese renaissance which set in after the death of Māgha and which is chiefly connected with the names of Vijayabāhu and Parakkamabāhu II, the latter king is said to have brought over to his side all the Vannī kings dwelling here and there in mountain and wilderness (83. 10; 87. 26, 52). The Vannī headmen swore allegiance also to his son Vijayabāhu IV and delivered over to him their royal insignia (88. 87-88). They also collected a large quantity of victuals to offer them to the Buddhist community (89. 51 sq.).

The meaning of these stories is that in the thirteenth century the Sinhalese kings after overcoming the external foe did their utmost to restore the internal welfare of the kingdom. Above all, it was necessary in the most productive districts of the Island to have cultivated anew the fields laid waste during the times of disturbance. For this purpose the assistance of skilful agriculturists was needed, and hardly better helpers could be found than those tank colonists who had learned to work under the most difficult

circumstances. The kings succeeded in bringing them back from the wilderness and the small jungle tanks were abandoned and neglected and gradually went to ruin. Vannīs are no longer mentioned in the chronicle after the beginning of the fourteenth century. In 90. 105 the successor of Parakkamabāhu IV is called Vannī-Bhuvanekabāhu (about 1333). It is obvious that he was the descendant of one of those Vannī headmen.

Thus the construction of the numerous jungle tanks and the Vannīs found merely a romantic episode in the cultural history of Ceylon. But of course not all the tank colonists gave up their jungle life. Some of them remained in the wilderness, chiefly those who had settled in the remotest districts. There they became more and more secluded from the other people and even quite isolated. The last remnants are now the *Vanniyās*. I believe, therefore, in full accord with Mrs. Cook (C., p. 334) that the Vanniyās by no means represent a separate race, but are merely degenerated Sinhalese who for centuries were cut off from all connexion with the civilisation. In the year 1887 (Parker in *Tapr.* Febr. 1887, p. 15 sq.) their number was not more than 500 in all. Most of them are living in the northern part of the North-Central Province in small hamlets consisting of primitive huts. A few only cultivate paddy, the rest live by chena cultivation, hunting and honey-collection. Although the other people speak of them as Veddas, they themselves entirely deny such a descent and look down with contempt on the Veddas. They are all Buddhists and generally speak the Sinhalese language. In Rohaṇa there are no Vanniyās, and it will not be long before the last Vannīs will have disappeared.

83. Towns (*nagara*, *pura*) could come into existence where tanks of larger dimensions were constructed and an area of greater extent became cultivable so that proportionally more people were able to earn their livelihood in such places. But it is noticeable that, at least in the earlier centuries of the mediæval period, we hear very little of



towns existing in Ceylon. A town like Devanagara, now Dondra, is not mentioned before the eleventh century (Mahāvamsa 56. 6). No doubt a village began to get the character of a town when it was fortified, and such entrenched settlements may have existed here and there in the Island. West of the Sigiri rock which was a fortress already in the fifth century (39. 2-3) fortifications can be traced which must have enclosed something like a town. A more open city seems to have been situated east of the rock, and south of it a very old fortification, the Mapagala, with Cyclopean walls. Such town-like settlements became more frequent after the turbulent times of the thirteenth century. They were built at the foot of those isolated rocks which served as refuge; the rock itself was the citadel within the settlement. Such an entrenchment exists at the foot of the Subhagiri, now Yapahu, and the later towns as Jambuddoṇi (81. 15 sq.) (now Dambadeniya) and Hatthigiripura (90. 59) had a similar character.

But if we are to describe a mediæval Sinhalese town, we are confined to Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara, now Polonnaruwa. Here was the residence of the Sinhalese kings and the seat of the Government—in Anurādhapura, as we can generally say, up to the Coḷa invasion at the end of the tenth century, and in Pulatthinagara from the end of the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century. These towns were embellished with splendid buildings by the kings, the former chiefly by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi already in pre-Christian times, the latter by Parakkamabāhu I. We understand, therefore, that the interest of the chroniclers was entirely concentrated on them.

84. According to the older Pali literature and the Jātakas in Buddhist times the cities in India were rectangular, usually square, with four gates, one in the middle of each wall, facing the four quarters, and four main streets led from these gates to the centre of the city (A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Eastern Art* II, 1930, pp. 211-12).

As the remnants of its ancient walls show, the plan of the city of Anurādhapura was the same. It had an extent of about two-thirds of a mile from north to south and a little less from east to west, forming a somewhat irregular rectangle. The gates in the northern and southern walls can be traced even now-a-days. The eastern gate appears to have been approached from the ancient road which led from Mihintale to Anurādhapura and crossed the Malvatuoya just near the middle of the eastern wall with a bridge the remnants of which are still traceable.

Anurādhapura is, therefore, called *catudvāra* 'having four gates' in Mahāvamsa 34. 79 (cf. 35. 97). But the later capital of the kingdom, Pulatthinagara, is also called *catudvāra* (88. 120) still in the 13th century, though the area covered by its fortified city was double that of Anurādhapura city.

By the two main roads crossing each other in the centre every old Indian city was divided into four districts. They existed also in Pulatthinagara even at the time of the greatest extent of the town. Parakkamabāhu erected four alms-halls in the four districts of the city (*catusu passesu purassa* 73. 27).

We must, however, in Anurādhapura as well as in Pulatthinagara, distinguish between the fortified city and the parts of the town lying outside the entrenchment; the former was comparatively small. Monasteries, for instance, lay never in the city, but always outside as too much ground was required for their temples and numerous other buildings. In Anurādhapura four suburbs (*dvāragāma*) were laid out already by king Paṇḍukābhaya (10. 88) and in later times the Jetavanārāma and the Mahāvihara lay south of the city, the Abhayagirivihara north of it. In Pulatthinagara king Parakkamabāhu is said to have founded three suburbs (*sākhānagara* 73.152-3, 78.79-95). Their names were Rājavesibhujaṅga, Sihapura or Rājakulantaka, and Vijitapura. They were adorned with splendid palaces and other buildings, and each with a monastery erected by

the king: the first with the Isipatana-vihāra, the second with the Kusinārā-vihāra and the third with the Veḷuvana-vihāra.

In 73'159-163 we come across the notice that in the twelfth century Parakkamabāhu erected fourteen gates in Pulatthinagara. This is by no means contradictory to what we have said above concerning the four gates of Pulatthinagara. For those gates erected by Parakkamabāhu did not belong to the city which had never more than four gates, but were monumental structures built at the entrance of the roads leading from all directions to the capital. It is said in 78'81,86,89 that in the suburb Rājavesibhujaṅga four gates were erected, three in Sīhapura, and four in Vijitapura. We may assume that the remaining three gates were to adorn older suburbs which existed already before the time of Parakkamabāhu.

The names of the fourteen gates were 1. King's Gate, 2. Lion Gate, 3. Elephant Gate, 4. Indra Gate, 5. Hanumant Gate, 6. Kuvera Gate, 7. Caṇḍi Gate, 8. Rakkhasa Gate, 9. Serpent Gate, 10. Water Gate, 11. Garden Gate, 12. Māyā Gate, 13. Mahātittha Gate, 14. Gandhabba Gate. The name of the first gate also occurs in 74'199. Through it the holy Relics that had been retaken in Rohaṇa were brought into the town in a solemn procession. As the relics came from the south, it is probable that the King's Gate (*rājadvāra*) lay in this direction.

According to 73'156 Pulatthinagara in the twelfth century had an extent of  $4 \times 7$  *gāvutas* =  $9 \times 15\frac{3}{4}$  inches (cf. H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Journ. of Science*, Sec. G. II, p. 129 sq., 134). This number does not refer, I believe, to city and town alone, but included the whole cultivated area belonging to it. The area which has been cleared and excavated up to the present time amounts to four miles from south to north, and two miles in its broadest portion from west to east. The fortified city which is still clearly traceable, had an extent of one mile to half a mile.

85. The *fortification* of a city, mostly Pulatthinagara, is mentioned and described in several passages of the chroni-

cle. King Vijayabāhu I, 1059-1114, is said in Mahāvamsa 60·2-3 to have built in Pulatthinagara a high and strong wall (*pākāra*) which was well-faced with stucco (*sudhākamma*) and defended round about with a long, broad and deep moat (*parikhā*). The new fortification, constructed by Parakkamabāhu (73·57 sq.), was yet stronger than that built by former kings. The wall was high and covered with a coating of stucco, and it was surrounded with three walls more, apparently earth-walls, each in turn lower than the others and each separated from the next one by a moat. The fortress Parakkamapura, erected by Lankapura, one of Parakkamabāhu's generals, immediately on the coast opposite Rāmissara, was also enclosed with three walls, made of stone (*pāsāṇamaya*), and surrounded by three moats which were filled with water flowing from ocean to ocean (76·121-23).

It is noticeable that this description agrees with the Kauṭaliya (trsl. Shamasastri, p. 57) according to which a castle must be surrounded with three moats, each narrower than the other. The dug-out soil will have served for building the three walls mentioned in the Mahāvamsa. In a gloss Jāt. IV. 106<sup>21</sup>, also three successive external moats, surrounding a fortress, are mentioned, one within the other. They are called *udaḥa*-, *ḥaddama*- and *sukḥha-parikhā*, water-moat, mud-moat and dry moat (cf. for this and the following remarks, A. K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 213).

The supposition is not excluded that the chronicler has taken his description of fortifications rather from the literature he had studied than from actual conditions. But we must point to the fact that the great triple entrenchment (*timahāparikhā*) also occurs in the old Mahāvamsa 25·48, with reference to a city called Mahelanagara.

The four gates (*dvāra*) of a city required, of course, the strongest fortification. Wherever in the chronicle the taking by storm of a fortress is narrated, the gates are the chief objects of the attack. The city of Mahelanagara, just mentioned, possessed but one gate and was therefore hard to

come at. Some words denoting chiefly parts of the gate-ramparts—*gopura*, *torāṇa*, *koṭṭhaka*, *aṭṭāla*, *paṭṭhaṇḍila*—demand a short explanation (cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian Architecture*, I. Cities and City gates, *op. cit.*, p. 209 sq.).

The word *gopura* is not a mere synonym of *dvāra*. The difference of meaning is manifest in 51.34. When the Senāpati of king Sena II, 850-885, who was at war with the Pāṇḍus, had surrounded Madhurā, he first blockaded the gates (*dvārāṇi*), and cut off all traffic, then he set fire to *gopur'-aṭṭāla-koṭṭhake*. Therefore, *dvāra* simply denotes the entrance, but *gopura* is the tower-like structure above the gate. Such structures could also be erected in intervals on the top of the wall; twelve *gopuras* stood, for instance, on the wall of the fortress Parakkamapura (76.122). Perhaps the general translation *tower* is preferable to the more frequently used 'gate-house.' By *torāṇa* (36-103) is meant the *arch*, against which gate-leaves closed from behind. The town Kalyāṇī is said in 91.5 to have had splendid towers and arches. Often *torāṇas* are triumphal arches erected in the streets at a festive occasion, to be passed by the festive procession (74.200).

The substantive *koṭṭhaka* signifies any room for keeping valuable things, a treasury or a granary or the like. In connection with *gopura* or *dvāra* (51.34; 91.7) it is a sheltered room in the gate-tower from which the defenders could throw missiles or stones or firebrands on the heads of the enemies who tried to break through the gate-leaves or had succeeded in doing so. I propose to translate the word with *shelter*. The *aṭṭāla* (*ka*)s or *bastions*, as I translate the word, are according to A.K. Coomaraswamy structures projecting from the walls right and left of the actual gateway. They were manned in case of necessity with soldiers who were able to protect the entrance from both sides.

Difficult to explain is the word *paṭṭhaṇḍila*, which is met with in one passage only (60.3). Since the walls of Pula-

tthinagara are equipped with high *patthaṇḍilas* I suppose that *parapets* are meant behind which the defenders are guarded against the rain of arrows shot by the aggressors, when they are preparing the attack.

86. Towns with their streets (*vīthi* = Sk. id., *racchā* carriage-road = Sk. *rathyā*) are depicted in the Indian literature in a schematic manner. In Pulatthinagara there were many hundreds of streets with thousands of dwellings (*ālaya*) of two, three, and more storeys; in the streets there was day by day an incessant traffic of elephants, horses and carriages (Mahāvamsa 73.148-49). When prince Parakkamabāhu intended secretly to leave the town and to return to the Southern Province, he ran as if in fun after his elephant and roamed from street to street (*racchāya raccham vicaram* 67.33). He thus deceived the people concerning his intention and the direction of his flight. The principal street of a town was called King's street (*rājāvīthi* 67.1).

The words for dwelling-houses are *geha*, *ghara*, *āgāra*. Peculiar types of houses were *aḍḍhayoga* and *hammiya* (88.93, 118), but we are unable to describe their architectural character. *Hammiya* was perhaps a house with a pavilion on its top which could serve as an abode in the bright season, for the word is also used as designation for one of the outside chambers of a palace (A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Eastern Art* III, 1931, p. 191). Both words occur in the Vinaya I 58<sup>19</sup>, II 146 in an enumeration of the buildings which are allowed to *bhikkhus* as dwelling-places; *vihāra*, *aḍḍhayoga*, *pāsāda*, *hammiya*, *guhā*.

Houses with more than one storey are called *pāsāda*. The most imposing of the palaces was, of course, that of the king. The *pāsāda* built by Parakkamabāhu in the citadel of his capital is described above (20, J.G.I.S. III, 1936, p. 141). For such buildings the translation 'palace' is appropriate, but there can be no doubt that many houses denoted with the expression *pāsāda* were by no means palaces in the modern sense of the word.



Certain streets of the town were reserved for the *bazaar*. There stood the taverns (*āpāṇa*) and the shops (*āpaṇa* 91.5) where victuals, fruit and fish could be bought or clothes and ornaments or other articles manufactured by the artisans. In the bazaars (*antarāpaṇa*) of Pulatthinagara all wares (*sabbopakaṛaṇa*) were to be had (73.149).

The main embellishments of a town were the parks (*uyyāna*). They were, of course, mostly outside the city. In ancient Anurādhapura the parks Nandanavana and Mahāmeghavana are frequently mentioned in the chronicle. The latter was laid out by king Muṭasiva (11.2) and granted by king Devānampiyatissa to the therā Mahinda who founded the first Buddhist monastery there, the Mahāvihāra (15.1 sq.). In the Nandanavana which was also called Jotivana (15.202) the Jetavanavihāra was erected in the 4th century A. C. (37.33). The form of the name Mahāmeghavanuyyāna (15.8) appears to prove that such parks were originally forests (*vana*) which were cleared so much as to become pleasure-gardens, where the people could find recreation and amusement.

When Parakkamabāhu was building his capital Pulatthinagara, he laid out in the four districts charming gardens (*uyyāna*) with trees that bore abundant blossom and fruit (73.28-9). They covered, of course, no large area.

Another park, laid down by the same king, was the Nandanagarden, so named after the park of Anurādhapura. It is called 'house-garden' (*gharuyyāna* 73.95), but we see from 101-2 that it was open to the public. The charm of this park is praised by the chronicler in the most extolling manner, but quite schematically. There were pavilions and other buildings of that kind in the park. It was adorned with all the blossoming and fruit-bearing trees and shrubs growing in the island, and filled with the cry of peacocks and the gentle twitter of birds. There were lakes (*sara*) in the park whose chief decorations were red and blue lotus flowers, and bathing ponds, named Silāpokkharāṇi and Maṅgala-pokkharāṇi, Stone-pond and Lucky pond. As

according to 73.95 this park was near the royal palace we might assume that the garden in the northern half of the citadel is meant. But in this case the whole description would be hardly more than a poetical fiction, perhaps an imitation of some older model.

In a similar manner as the Nandana-park the *Dīpuyyāna*, 'Island-park' is described (73.113 sq.). It is generally assumed that it was laid out on the so-called 'Promontory' which juts out in the *Tōpāvava* west of the citadel and on which the ruins of a series of magnificently constructed baths were excavated by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in the year 1901. Don M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* II, p. 148.

According to the *Mahāvamsa* the park had received its name, because the water divided there into two arms which enclosed the park like unto an island. It is however difficult to make this agree with the actual situation.

87. Great was the number of *public buildings* erected in a town chiefly for charity purposes. They are generally called *sālā* 'halls'. This word is very comprehensive and denotes quite different buildings. Common to them is the fact that they do not serve a single family as lodging. A peculiar form was *catussālā* or *catussālāghara*, the house with four halls. Such an edifice stood in the *Mahāvihāra* in *Anurādhapura* (*Mahāvamsa* 15.47, 50; 35. 88) and another since the time of king *Mahāsena*, 4th c. A. C., in the *Abhayagirivihāra* (37.15). By *Parakkamabāhu* a *catussālā* with four entrances (*catummukha*) and several large halls (*visāla-nānā-sāla*) was erected in the middle of the town (73.23). It seems to have been a square court, surrounded on all sides with halls open to the interior; the four entrances opened from outside into the square. But we do not know which purpose the building had to serve. A *catussālāghara* within the fortress of *Parakkamapura* (76.123) apparently contained barracks for the soldiers.

Near the entrances of the town *āgantusālās* were erected as rest-houses for people who had come from the country as

visitors or buyers (79.80.). It seems that the halls with maintenance (*saha bhogena sālāyo* 37.149) erected by king Buddhādāsa, in the 4th c. A. C. on the high-street (*mahā-pathe*) were also such rest-houses for travellers.

In order to commit criminals to custody dungeons (*kārāgāra*) were built in the cities (70.264).

The *dhammasālās*, mentioned among the buildings of Pulatthinagara in the thirteenth century (88.93) were, as the name indicates, halls in which the priests preached the doctrine. For distributing charity among *bhikkhus* and beggars alms-halls (*dānasālā*) were erected, as, for instance, one in Anurādhapura by king Mahinda IV, 10th c. (54.30). Parakkamabāhu had four alms-houses built in the four districts of Pulatthinagara (73.26), and near these halls he had laid down the four gardens mentioned above, and set up rich provender houses which contained the most necessary victuals, such as syrup, sugar, honey and the like—all for the good of the monks and beggars entertained in the alms-houses. He is also said to have erected an alms-hall with four entrances (*cātummuḥha*) on the spot where his general Rakkha, carried off during the campaign in Rohaṇa by an attack of dysentery, had been burnt, in order to honour his memory (74.150).

Often *hospitals* are mentioned among the public buildings of a town, the term *vejjasālā*, lit. doctor-house occurring first, as far as I can see, in the reign of Buddhādāsa in the fourth century A. C. (37.145). Buddhādāsa also built halls for cripples (*piṭṭhasappin*) and blind men on different places (37.148), and the same was done by Udaya I, 792-97 (49.19). King Dhātusena had halls erected for lame and sick people (*paṅgu, rogātura*, 38.42). The building of an hospital in Pulatthinagara is ascribed to the kings Udaya I (49.19) and Sena I, 831-51, and that of one on the Atiyamountain (Mihintale) to the latter's successor Sena II (50.74.; 51.73). Sena Kanga, the Senāpati of king Kassapa IV, 896-913, had two hospitals built in Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara for combating the *upasagga* disease (52.25).

By the son of king Mahinda IV, 10th c., and by his Senāpati two separate hospitals were instituted, one for the laity and the other for sick *bhikkhus* outside the town (54.53); the king himself is said to have distributed medicaments and beds to all the hospitals (54.31).

It was matter of course that Parakkamabāhu also built a great hospital in Pulatthinagara. It was large enough for many hundreds of sick persons, and the king assigned to it slaves male and female, as attendants, and provided for it, according to need, medicine and food piled up in a storehouse (73.34-37).

Women in labour found accommodation in lying-in hospitals (*sūtiḡhara* 79.61). In the old Mahāvamsa 10.10 we meet with a *sivikā-sālā*, i.e., a lying-in shelter (cf. W. Geiger, Mahāvamsa trsl., p. 75, n. 3) even in the time of Paṇḍukābhaya in the fourth century B. C.

For sick people who could walk, *dispensaries* (*bheṣajja-ghara* 52.24.) were erected. Medicaments were distributed here to them, no doubt without payment, for it was considered to be a work of charity and a merit.

The expenses of the hospitals were covered by the munificence of the kings and other rich people. King Silākāla, 6th c., is said to have increased the revenues of (all) the hospitals in the island (41.28). King Udaya I provided each of the two hospitals erected by him in Pulatthinagara and Paḍāvi with a maintenance village (49.18), and Kassapa V, 10th c., the hospital he had built in Anurādhapura (52.57). Mahinda IV is said to have instituted a *tambūla-maṇḍapa*, i.e. a shop where betel was sold to the people, the earnings from which he made over to *bhikkhus* for the purchase of medicines (54.46).

## Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma

(Concluded from JGIS, VI, p. 52)

By DR. NIHAR-RANJAN RAY

### VI.

*The Buddhaghoṣa Tradition : Legend and History*  
C. 400-450 A.D.

We have already pushed the history of Theravāda Buddhism back to the 5th century A.D. The Buddhaghoṣa tradition may now seem somewhat admissible.

Burmese chroniclers preserve a strong and persistent tradition current to this day everywhere in the Buddhist hierarchy of Burma that Buddhaghoṣa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator and author of Buddhist scriptures, was a native of Burma. Born in Thaton he is said to have made a voyage to Ceylon in the year of Religion 943, 400 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The Burmese ascribe a new era in their religion to the time when the great scholar reached their country back from Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> He succeeded in his undertaking. He made use of the Burmese or rather Talaing characters in transcribing the manuscripts which were written in the character of Magadha. The Burmese lay much stress on that voyage, always carefully noting down the year it took place. In fact, it is to Buddhaghoṣa that the people of the shores of the Gulf of Martaban owe the possession of Buddhist scriptures.<sup>3</sup> He is said to have also brought over from Ceylon to Burma a copy of Kaccāyana's Pāli grammar which he translated into Burmese, and

1. Rogers, *Buddhaghoṣa's Parables*, p. xvi, n. 1.

2. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 532.

3. *Ibid.*

to have written a commentary as well upon it.<sup>4</sup> A volume of parables in Burmese is also attributed to him.<sup>5</sup> The Burmese Code of Manu is said to have been introduced into Burma from Ceylon by the same Buddhist scholar. But the Code itself is silent on the point.<sup>6</sup>

Here is an example how the tradition is recorded in the chronicles of the country. It is taken from the *Hmannan Yazawin* which, like most other Burmese chronicles, claims Buddhaghoṣa to have been a native of Thaton from where he is said to have crossed over to a seaport called Bhangiri in the Deccan. Thence he reached Ceylon by ship. It then proceeds to give an account of his early life and career, and his sojourn in Ceylon including the story of the writing of the commentaries; these accounts follow on the whole those of the Ceylonese chronicles.

"Thus when the great elder Ashin Buddhaghoṣa had given king Mahānāman a white elephant and sought leave to depart, he brought one out of the three copies of the *Visuddhimagga* which he had made together with the three *Piṭakas*, and crossed over to Jambudwīpa. And Sakra came to him and said: 'In Jambudwīpa, in the middle country, there is no standing place for the Religion. The Religion should shine. The Religion shall stand and shine for five thousand years in such places as the distant jungle settlements in the south-east corner of the middle country, nine hundred (yojana) in circumference—Thārehkittara, Thiripyissaya, (and) Ramaññadesa. Carry it thither! So he took it and crossed over and reached the city of Thaton, called Sudhammavati. And when the tidings were known, there was a general cry throughout all the kingdom of Ramañña, and king and queen, men and women, monks

4. *Ind. Ant.* XIX. 1890, p. 532.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.* In this connection see also Dr. B. C. Law, *The Life and Work of Buddhaghoṣa*, II, pp. 40-42.



and laymen, all welcomed the Religion with divers festivals, assembles, celebrations, and almsgivings. As though the Lord Omniscient had appeared in their midst, they reverently raised the *Piṭakas*, and coming to the city palace they built a tabernacle in a lovely place in front of the golden palace, and there they laid the treasures of the religion.

"At the time the chief elder of the Religious order was Ashin Anomadassi. This is his lineage: of the two monks of the Third Council, Sona and Uttara, who came to Suvannabhūmi in the cause of religion, Ashin Sona the elder had ten pupils who abode with him, the chief of whom was Ashin Mahasobhita;—his pupil was Ashin Mahasomadatta; his pupil, Ashin Sumantissa; his pupil, Ashin Sobhaga; his pupil, Ashin Somadatta; his pupil, Ashin Anomadassi. When Ashin Anomadassi was in charge of the Religion, divers saints and monks who were practising piety in the countries of Burma, Mon, Arakan, Shan Yun, Linzin and Sokkati, came one by one and studied and took away the sacred Pāli and the commentary, which had only been handed down by word of mouth from teacher to teacher; and so in divers distant places even now the Religion spreads and shines. This agrees with the *Sāsanavaṃsa* and the Thaton Chronicle.....

".....The Great Chronicle says that it was in the forty-second year after the accession of King Thinlikyauṅg that Ashin Buddhaghoṣa crossed over to Ceylon. But in the forty-fourth (?) year of the reign of this king, being the 930th year of the Religion or 308, Mahānāman had not even come to the throne; there is a gap of sixteen years. So it was not in the reign of king Thinlikyauṅg, but in the fifteenth year of the reign of his son Kyaungdwit that Mahānāman became king, in the 946th year of the Religion or 324. This is found in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and agrees with the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, and the *Sāsanavaṃsa*.

"The above account has been omitted in the Great and Middle Chronicles, but is here inserted with extracts accord-

ing to the books, in order to make plain the story of the arrival in Burma of the *Piṭakas*, of the Religion."

Thus so far as legend is concerned which obviously is an example of how the chroniclers of a later date satisfied their natural vanity by claiming as many celebrities of the Religion they could as their own. Foulkes<sup>7</sup> and Smith<sup>8</sup> even doubted if there was ever a historical personage as Buddhaghōṣa. But we can readily ignore that argument now, for the celebrated Buddhist scholar has long been proved to have been a real historical personage. More substantial arguments in opposition are, however, offered by Prof. Hackmann and Prof. Louis Finot.

"There is ground" says Prof. Hackmann<sup>9</sup>, "for doubting the statement that this man (Buddhaghōṣa) brought Buddhism to Burma. The chronicles of Ceylon to which we owe the information about Buddhaghōṣa and which must have been well-informed on the subject, give no account of his journey to Further India. Indeed, one of the most important inscriptions in Burma, which was erected at the end of the 15th century A.D. at the instance of the king of Pegu...makes no mention whatsoever of Buddhaghōṣa. The Burmese tradition which refers to him does so on account of his translations and writings having become fundamental in the country, probably also because his intellectual influence may have inaugurated a new epoch in Burmese Buddhism."

Prof. Finot, the distinguished French scholar, also speaks in the same strain.

"In Indo-China, he (Buddhaghōṣa) passes for the grand apostle who brought to those peoples the treasure of the sacred books. Each country of the Peninsula is a claimant; the Burmese make him a monk of Thaton, modern

7. "*Buddhaghōṣa*", *Ind., Ant.*, XIX, 1889, p. 122.

8. "*Asoka's alleged mission to Pegu*," *Ind. Ant.*, xxxiv, 1905, pp. 185-86.

9. *Buddhism as a Religion*, p. 68.

Cambodia places him at the beginning of its religious tradition and has kept his name as one of the most elevated titles of ecclesiastical hierarchy.....The (Burmese) chronicles either secular or ecclesiastical are only the echo of Sinhalese history, altered by an insatiable national vanity. As they make Buddha travel in the valley of the Irrawady for predicting the foundation of diverse capitals, they substitute Thaton for Magadha as the point of departure or of return in the voyage of Buddhaghōṣa to Ceylon. Not only is this tradition apocryphal, it is not even old; it cannot go back in any case further than the 16th century. We have a decisive proof of it in the inscriptions of Kalyāṇī.....If the belief in the introduction of the scriptures to Pegu by Buddhaghōṣa had asserted at that time, the pious king would have no doubt reserved to it a place of honour in his abridgement of the history of the Church. But he does not mention the name of the great commentator; thus it follows that in his time no connection had yet been established between Buddhaghōṣa and Thaton.<sup>10</sup>

Who would deny that there is great weight in these criticisms which are just and reasonable? The character itself of the tradition is such as to raise suspicion in a critical mind; and the omission, moreover, of any account of the great scholar's adventure in Further India in the Ceylonese chronicles as well as in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions is indeed too serious an objection to overcome. The argument of omission, it is true, is another example of *argumentum ex silentio*, but it must be admitted that in the present instance it goes a great way towards confirming our suspicions already created in the mind by the nature of the tradition itself. The omission in the Ceylonese chronicles, may, however, be ignored; but not that in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions where the pious and zealous king Dhammaceti made it a point, as it were, to record each

10. *The Legend of Buddhaghōṣa*, translated from the French by P. C. Bagchi, *Cal. Rev.* 1923, pp. 63-67.

and every step in the course of the progress of the Religion in the Peninsula up till his reign, and it is indeed difficult to assume that he forgot to record such an important event.

Furthermore, Prof. B. M. Barua<sup>11</sup> has recently introduced us to a second Buddhaghōṣa, a Buddhist scholar and divine, and an elder contemporary of the Buddhaghōṣa of *Visuddhimagga* fame. Evidence, unfortunately, is so meagre on the point that it is very difficult to establish his identity; we only know that it was at his instance that the younger, but the more celebrated, Buddhaghōṣa undertook to prepare his famous commentary on the *Vibhaṅga* the *Sammohavinodinī*. It may be argued that the elder Buddhaghōṣa may have been a native of Burma, and the chroniclers fathered on him all that passed in the name of the younger and the more celebrated one. But such an assumption is unwarranted; and if all that is claimed by the tradition current in Burma is to be believed, it is certain that none else than the younger and the more celebrated, the scholar Buddhaghōṣa, is meant.<sup>12</sup>

But all this is more destructive or speculative. The tradition so loud and persistent, may not be without a meaning, a significance. Is it not possible to suggest something constructive, something that may help us to see the indication of history through the thick mass of legends?

11. "Two Buddhaghōṣas," *Indian Culture* I., no. 2, pp. 294-95.

12. "The Burmese tradition that Buddhaghōṣa was a native of Thaton and returned thither from Ceylon merits more attention than it has received. It can easily be explained away as patriotic fancy. On the other hand, if Buddhaghōṣa's object was to invigorate Hinayānism in India the result of his really stupendous labours was singularly small, for in India his name is connected with no religious movement. But if we suppose that he went to Ceylon by way of the holy places in Magadha and returned from the Coromandel coast to Burma where Hinayānism afterwards flourished, we have at least a coherent narrative." Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, p. 32.

We may not be able to hit upon any positive evidence, but we may be able to throw, in more or less degree, some light on a tradition that has vexed scholars for long.

Recent archaeological finds mainly at Hmawza, a small village rich in ancient ruins, five miles south of the present town of Prome, and the oldest seat, so far known, of kingship in Lower Burma, have decisively proved that Theravāda or Pāli Buddhism was already well known in and around that country in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. Here have been discovered a number of epigraphs relating to well-known texts from canonical Pāli literature inscribed on stone and gold plates in what is very closely allied to the Kadamba script, paleographically belonging to the 5th, 6th centuries A.D. Two of these plates begin with the well-known Buddhist formula "*Yedhammā hetuppabhavā.....*" etc., in Pāli, and refer respectively to the 19 categories of Buddhism, and the equally well-known praise of the *tri-ratna* as contained in the *Āṅuttara Nikāya*.<sup>13</sup> Another epigraph contains an extract either from the *Dhammasaṅgani* or *Vibhaṅga*; while a third which is a gold-leaf manuscript is inscribed with an extract giving the chain of causation or *paticca-samuppāda* and other extracts from the *Sutta*, *Vinaya*, and *Abhidhamma Piṭakas*. All these texts which we have already referred to in detail, belong decidedly to Pāli or Theravāda Buddhism, and the epigraphs prove once for all that this Buddhism was known and practised at Old Prome (Hmawza) as early as when those epigraphs were inscribed, i. e. in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. Images of the

13. It may be noted here that Buddhaghosa in commenting on *Āṅuttara Nikāya*, I. 14. 6, describes the merchants of Ukkala (obviously a form of Utkala) as having been inhabitants of Asitāñjana in the region of Hamsāvati or Pegu. It shows Buddhaghosa's acquaintance with the region of deltaic Burma. Vide Forchhammer, *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Burma*, "The Shwedagon Pagoda," Rangoon, 1911.

Buddha in traditional poses and attitudes and belonging to the same period, as well as *stūpas* and other monuments, belonging to the creed of Theravāda Buddhism by reason of the iconography of their sculptures, have been discovered in considerable numbers at the same locality. These findings known to scholars for several years are important by themselves, but when we consider the period to which they belong and the tradition of art and palaeography to which they are affiliated on the one hand, and on the other the period when Buddhaghoṣa flourished and the country or countries which he was more or less associated with, they become at once invested with a deeper significance.

According to Dhammakitti's account in the *Mahāvamsa*, Buddhaghoṣa flourished in the first half of the 5th century A.D. This account is supported by Burmese tradition and other internal evidences from the works of Buddhaghoṣa himself.<sup>14</sup> Most of his years of activity he lived, it is true, in Ceylon, but tradition strongly connects him with South India as well, more definitely with Conjeeveram or ancient Kāñcīpuram which the great Buddhist scholar and preacher is credited with having developed into an important centre of Theravāda Buddhism. Tradition and history also associate him intimately with the Godāvāri region on the one hand, and the Kāverī region on the other. In fact, if tradition is to be given any value, it is to the credit of Buddhaghoṣa that Theravāda Buddhism had a new lease of life in South India.

Now, we have seen in the preceding sections, that from the fifth century onwards down to the middle of the eleventh there is a *continuous record* of a very flourishing state of Buddhism in and around the kingdom of Old Prome, in fact, in Lower Burma. The fifth century indeed seems to be very significant, from what we have already seen, in the history of Buddhism in Burma; this century saw, in the old kingdom of Prome, a sudden awakening of

14. Law, *The Life and Work of Buddhaghoṣa*, pp. 9-11.



Theravāda Buddhism, a new start, as it were, of an old faith. It found from somewhere a strong impetus, a new urge of life, at about this period; and this new urge expressed itself in a wide outburst of activities in all directions, chips of which have come down to us in the shape of a number of Pāli inscriptions, a large number of Buddhist sculptures, and a few Buddhist monuments. Is it or is it not possible to connect this impetus, this outburst of religious activities, suddenly in about the fifth century, with the Buddhaghoṣa legend? In any case the appearance or re-appearance of Theravāda Buddhism in the old kingdom of Prome, as evidenced by her old epigraphs and sculptures and monuments thus almost coincides not only with the period in which Buddhaghoṣa flourished, but also with the establishment and development of great centres of Theravāda Buddhism on the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī and Kāverī valleys, places like Kāñcīpuram, Kāveripaṭṭanam and Uragapuram, all intimately associated with the Buddhaghoṣa tradition. The coincidence seems rather to be significant, and when we examine the Burmese tradition from this point of view the story of the great scholar's visit may not seem to be altogether without a foundation, though one is conscious that such an argument involves a certain kind of logical fallacy.

With regard to the Buddhaghoṣa tradition the position may, therefore, be stated thus: There are, indeed, cogent reasons for doubting it, but we must not treat the problem as closed or as decided once for all. There is, indeed, a probability of the tradition having something to do with actual facts, and it is, therefore, more reasonable to keep the door open for more light, and re-examine the legend in the light of evidences that are daily growing in volume and importance in favour of an early introduction of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma. But Buddhaghoṣa or no Buddhaghoṣa in Burma, it is immaterial with regard to our study of the history of Buddhism in the Peninsula. If the tradition be given any value, the great Buddhist scholar must then have

made his influence felt in Burma some time in the first half of the fifth century A.D. If it is dismissed, it would matter little, for almost immediately after, we have definite epigraphic evidence of the prevalence of Theravāda Buddhism, the religion of the Master, in its pure and unsullied form, in Lower Burma where Buddhagoṣa is said to have established one of his centres of activity.

## VII

### *Buddhism in Lin-Yang (Prome?) C. 250 A.D.*

The Pāli epigraphs discovered in the old city of Prome and belonging to the fifth and sixth centuries are not however the earliest evidence of Buddhism in Burma. Still earlier, already in the third century of the Christian era, Buddhism was well established in a part of Burma where there were several thousand "Śramaṇas adhering to the faith", and where the people "worshipped the Buddha."

Early Chinese texts speak often of a country, among a host of others of Indo-China, called Chin-lin or "Frontier of Gold". Prof. Paul Pelliot long ago drew our attention to these texts, and it is to him that we are mostly indebted for all information from Chinese sources regarding Far-Eastern countries including Campā, Kamboja, Siam, Laos, Java, Sumatra, Borneo and other islands, Burma and even some parts of Eastern India. Here we shall concern ourselves with only a few references from Chinese texts which may directly refer to our subject.<sup>15</sup>

About the beginning of the third century A.D. Fū-nan which included modern Cambodia and major portion of Siam, was gradually expanding its power. One of its kings, (Fan-) wan, a brave and capable man, attacked and subdued the neighbouring kingdoms and took the title of the Great

15. Pelliot's researches on the subject are mostly contained in his masterly contribution, *Deux Itinéraires*, published in the *BEFEO.*, tome IV, 1904.

King of Fū-nan. He then boarded a few great ships and traversing the vast ocean attacked more than ten kingdoms including Ch'u-tu-kun, Chin-chih and Tien-sün, thus extending the kingdom of Fū-nan five or six thousand *li*. Then he projected a subjugation of the kingdom of Chin-lin or Frontier of Gold; but as he fell ill, he could not achieve his end.<sup>16</sup> The date of the death of (Fan-)wan, the Great King of Fū-nan, is shown by Pelliot to have been c. 225-30 A.D.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, in the time of Wu (A.D. 222-80), Chu Ying and K'ang Y'ai, Prof. Pelliot points out, were sent on an embassy to the country of (Fan-)hsun. The date of this embassy is fixed by him to have been c. 245-250 A.D.<sup>18</sup> "The kingdoms which they passed through or heard of, were a hundred and several tens";<sup>19</sup> but the evidence as given in the *Liang Shu* (ch. 54, f. 2 *recto* and *verso*) does not warrant such a long list. It includes Tu-K'un, Chu-li, Tun-Hsun and Chin-lin;<sup>20</sup> Tu-K'un and Chu-li must be looked for somewhere in the Malay Peninsula, Tun-Hsun (Tien-sün) has been identified with Tennasserim, and Chin-lin or the Frontier of Gold with Suvannabhūmi of Pāli literature. The identification of the last-named country is generally accepted.<sup>21</sup> Chin-lin thus refers to the region of the Gulf of Martaban which is certainly the same as the 'great bay of the Frontier of Gold' referred to in the Chinese texts.<sup>22</sup>

16. *BEFEO.*, 1903, pp. 256-67.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 303, 430.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 275-7.

20. For Pelliot's discussions on the identifications of these regions see *Ibid.*, pp. 263-69; also see Laufer, *JA.*, Juin-Aout, 1918, pp. 24-31.

21. Pelliot, *Ibid.*, p. 266, n. 5, where the reader would find his arguments for accepting the identification.

22. For additional arguments in support of the identification, see *JRS.*, Vol. XIV, Pt. II, p. 153, where Prof. G. H. Luce remarks: "Chin-lin, quite irrespective of its meaning or connection with Suvannabhūmi, might be placed on geographical grounds on the Gulf

The kingdom of Chin-lin was called Chin-ch'en. The *T'ai-p'ing yu lan* (ch. 790, f. 23) has two quotations, Pelliot points out, about the kingdom of the Frontier of Gold. The first is taken from *I wu chih* according to which Chin-lin is called Chin-ch'en. It is above 2000 *li* from Fū-nan. The second extract is taken from the *Wai kuo ch'uan* according to which one can reach Chin-ch'en by going west for more than 2000 *li* from Fū-nan. Pelliot sees in Chin-ch'en a graphic alteration of Chin-lin.<sup>23</sup> That the two are identical is also proved by Prof. Luce who points out that "the variants Chin-lin and Chin-ch'en, both perhaps of equal antiquity, are sufficiently close in sound to suggest that the name may be a transcription, and not a translation, of the native names; and this would explain the variant writings of *lin*, one of which, Chin-lin, has no semantic value..... If the *I wu chi* is the *Nan chou i wu chih* of Wan chen, the identificatin of Chin-ch'en with Chin-lin is as old as the third century; the name Chin-ch'en is also said to occur in the *Wai Kuo ch'uan* which may be the actual work of K'ang Tai (*BEFEO*, 1904, p. 270, n. 3), and in the fifth century *Fū-nan chi* of Chu Chih."<sup>24</sup>

It is in the last named text, i. e. the *Fū-nan chi* of Chu Chih that there is an interesting reference to what may be said to bear an important relation with our present subject

of Martaban. Chin-ch'en, or Chin-lin, is said to be more than 2000 *li* west of Fū-nan; Picu-ton, Tu-Koun, Chu-li and Pi-Sung are 3000 *li* south of Chin-lin on the one hand; Tu-K'un and Tun-hsün over 3000 *li* south of Fū-nan on the other. It seems a natural conclusion that Tu-K'un, etc. were somewhere on the Malay Peninsula, roughly equidistant from (the capital of ?) Fū-nan (Cambodia) on the one side, and the Gulf of Martaban on the other. The mention of the 'great bay' is a strong argument; and the reference to the white population of these parts tallies with Ptolemy's similar account of Chryse."

23. Pelliot, *Ibid.*, p. 266, n. 5.

24. *JBRs.*, Vol. XIV, Part II, p. 153.

of study. And here is Pelliot's version of the portion of the text as quoted in the *Shui Ching Chu* (ch. 1, f. 7, verso): "The kingdom of Lin-Yang (old pronunciation: Liem- (d) iang) is 2000 *li* by land-route from that of Chin-ch'en. One goes there by carriage or on horseback; there is no route by water. *All the people worship the Buddha.*" This kingdom of Lin-Yang is the object of a paragraph in the *T'ai p'ing yü lan* (ch. 787, f. 13); it is mentioned according to the report of the travels of K'ang T'ai, as being 7000 *li* south-west of Fū-nan, and according to the *Nan Chouiwu chi* of Wan Chen, as being the same distance, but west. In the time of K'ang T'ai there were already in this country, according to his report, *several thousand Śramaṇas.*"<sup>25</sup> K'ang T'ai, according to Pelliot, should be referred to the middle of the third century A.D. It is thus evident that Buddhism was already a flourishing religion at that time in the kingdom of Lin-Yang. But which is the region referred to as Lin-Yang in the Chinese texts?

The kingdom of Lin-Yang is said to be 2000 *li* by horse or carriage from Chin-ch'en or Chin-lin which is Suvannabhūmi or Thaton region of Burma on the Gulf of Martaban. Chin-lin again is said to be of the same distance to the west from Fū-nan that included modern Cambodia and the major portion of Siam. From Fū-nan, Lin-Yang was, however, 7000 *li* to the west or south-west. From these data as well as from the statement that it could not be reached by water, Prof. Luce infers that Lin-Yang might have been situated

25. How unreliable are these measurements of distances as given in these texts is apparent in this statement. From Fū-nan Chin-lin is described to be 2000 *li* and from Chin-lin to Lin-Yang the distance is the same. The two distance lines thus form the two arms or sides of equal length of a triangle whose third side may be said to be supplied by the distance line of 7000 *li* from Fū-nan to Lin-Yang, an impossible proposition from the geometrical point of view. For the third side (7000 *li*) cannot be greater in any case than the other two sides taken together, viz. 4000 *li*.

in the north or centre of Burma.<sup>26</sup> But I cannot really follow why Lin-Yang should be located so high up in the Peninsula as in the north, though one may possibly be disposed to locate it in the centre. It is difficult to ascertain from where all distances in respect of Fū-nan were counted; was it from the capital or from the nearest borderland? and what again should be our attitude with regard to the distances and directions as stated in the texts which are our only source of information? Should we interpret them literally or accept merely their sense? That they are sometimes absolutely unreliable is well known. These are some of the difficulties with respect to any identification of Lin-Yang; but let us go by the facts as they are stated. If, then, the identification of Chin-ch'en or Chin-lin with the Thaton region is correct, and Prof. Luce admits that it is so, the capital of Fū-nan from where presumably all distances in respect of that country were counted or the nearest border region of that kingdom, must be situated, on the authority of the *I wu chih* as quoted in the *T'ai p'ing yu lan* referred to above, some 2000 *li* east of Thaton.<sup>27</sup> The distance of Lin-Yang from Chin-ch'en is also stated as 2000 *li*, but the direction is not given. It cannot, however, be southwards from Chin-ch'en, for that way stretches the Malaya Peninsula which borders on the sea, nor can it be direct westwards from Thaton. According to Cunningham's computation one Chinese *li* in Hsüan-Chuang's time was equivalent to

26. *JBR.S.*, Vol. XIV, Part II, p. 154.

27. The capital of Fū-nan was at T'e-mu, and was 500 *li* from the sea, evidently the South China Sea. We should, therefore, search for it somewhere, probably on the Mekong up Vien Tiane. Pelliot would, however, locate it between Chandone and Phnom-penh, perhaps near Vyādhapura (Angkor Borei). *BEFEO*, 1902, p. 128; 1903, pp. 247, 269-90; 1904, p. 214. The difficulty with regard to the identification is that Chin-lin is not due west from such a location; the distance too is more than 500 *li*.



one-sixth of an English mile;<sup>28</sup> if it is assumed that Chinese *li* measured the same distance in the third century as well, we have roughly over 300 English miles as the distance from Chin-ch'en or Thaton to Lin-Yang. But this distance must not be measured as the crow flies, for cart or horse tracks in those days lay necessarily in a zigzag course. Nor should they, I think, be taken too literally. If we take this into consideration and allow some concession as to the measurement of the distance in *li*, I think we cannot go higher up northwards than Hmawza, the site of the capital of the old kingdom of Prome. In fact, I infer that the kingdom of Lin-Yang may be the same as the kingdom of Old Prome that lay, even in those days when the Gulf had not yet receded so much to the south, much to the interior at considerable distance from the coast, and could not be reached by water especially from the region of Chin-ch'en. The identification with Prome may also find support in the fact that only two centuries later we have definite evidence of the prevalence of Buddhism, in the capital city of this old kingdom where Pāli canonical literature was studied in its doctrinal and most intricate aspects.

But whether the identification of Lin-Yang with Prome be true or a mere conjecture, we cannot doubt that this kingdom must be sought for somewhere in Burma, either in the region of Prome or higher up in the central districts of the Peninsula,<sup>29</sup> where Buddhism was already in the middle of the third century very well established with several thousand 'Śramaṇas adhering to the Faith' and the whole people subscribed to the worship of the Buddha.

28. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, App. B., pp. 571 ff.

29. But it should be borne in mind that the entire discussion centering on Lin-Yang is based on the identification of Chin-lin (Chin-ch'en) with the region bordering on the Gulf of Martaban, which, however, is generally accepted. But see Luce, *JBRS.*, Vol. XIV, Part II, p. 155 n. I.

If all this is correct, and it seems that it is, then there can be no doubt that this is the first and earliest definite reference to Buddhism in Burma.<sup>30</sup>

*The Asoka-mission of Sona and Uttara:  
Legend and History.  
C. 250 B. C.*

There is hardly any tradition so universal in the Buddhist church of Burma and so often repeated in her chronicles as the story of the first introduction of the Religion of Gautama the Buddha, by Sona and Uttara, two *theras* sent by Moggaliputta mahāthera, the teacher of Asoka to evangelise the land. The tradition rests primarily on the authority of the two Ceylonese chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa*<sup>31</sup> and the *Mahāvāṃsa*.<sup>32</sup> In both the chronicles the story is the same; and it will be convenient to quote here the relevant portion from the *Mahāvāṃsa*, which, by the way, gives us a more detailed version of the narrative (Chap. XII, the Converting of different countries).

"When the *thera* Moggaliputta, the illuminator of the religion of the Conqueror, had brought the (third) Council to an end and when looking into the future, he had beheld the founding of the Religion in adjacent countries, (then) in the month Kattika he sent forth *theras*, one here and

30. In Tun-hsün (i.e. Tennasserim), however, Brāhmanism was at this time the prevalent form of religion. "The kingdom of Tun-hsün depends on Fū-nan... In this country there are 500 families of Hu of India, two Fo-t'u, and more than a thousand Brāhmaṇas of India. The (people of) Tun-hsün practise their doctrine and give them their daughters in marriage, so many (of these Brāhmins) do not depart. They do nothing but read the holy books of the heavenly spirits and constantly offer unto them white vases of perfumes and flowers without ceasing, day and night" (*BEFEO.*, 1903, pp. 279 ff.).

31. Geiger, *Dīpavaṃsa*, 8, 1-13.

32. Geiger, *Mahāvāṃsa*, 12, 1-54.

one there. The *thera* Majjhantika he sent to Kāśmīra and Gandhāra ; the *thera* Mahādeva he sent to Mahiṣamaṇḍala. To Vanvāsa, he sent the *thera* Rakkhita ; and to Aparāntaka the Yona named Dhammarakkhita ; to Mahāratt̥ha (he sent) the *thera* Mahādhammarakkhita ; but the *thera* Mahārakkhita he sent into the country of the Yona. He sent the *thera* Majjhima to the Himalayan country, and to Suvannabhūmi he sent the *theras* Sona and Uttara. The great *thera* Mahinda, the *theras* Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla, his disciples, these *theras* he sent forth with the charge 'Ye shall found in the lovely island of Laṅkā, the lovely Religion of the Conqueror.'<sup>33</sup>

The account goes on into details regarding each of the missions. With regard to Suvannabhūmi it is laid down :

"Together with the *thera* Uttara, the *thera* Sona of wondrous might went to Suvannabhūmi.....Many were the people who came unto the (three) refuges and the precepts of duty ; sixty thousand were converted to the true faith. Three thousand five hundred sons of noble families received it likewise. Thenceforth when a prince was born in the royal palace, the kings gave to such the name Soṇathera."<sup>34</sup>

With these traditional accounts preserved in the name and to the credit of religious teachers, one may also read the accounts of missionary activities recorded by Asoka himself to his own credit. Besides organising a proselytising band of zealous missionaries to carry the message of the Master to every nook and corner of Jambudīpa, he is said to have sent missionaries to Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon), as well as to all his neighbours as far as six hundred leagues, where the king of the Greeks named Antiochus lives, and beyond that Antiochus (where live) the four kings named severally (Turamaya) Ptolemy, (Amtekina) Antigonos, (Maga or Maka) Magas, and (Alikasudara) Alexander....."

33. *Mahāvamsa*, 82.

34. *Mahāvamsa*, p. 86.

The historicity of the mission to the Greek countries<sup>35</sup> and Ceylon<sup>36</sup> has hardly been doubted, recorded as they are by Asoka himself in his Edicts (R E. V and XIII). The story of the missions to the Himalayan countries and Kāśmīra is also generally believed.<sup>37</sup> Gandhāra, Mahiṣa-maṇḍala, Vanavāsa, Aparānta and Mahārāṭṭha were all within Asoka's dominions, and Asoka himself claims, in his edicts, to have left no place in Jambudīpa out of his missionary campaigns and activities. These direct and indirect corroborations from independent sources of practically all the missions referred to in the Ceylonese chronicles naturally warrants the presumption that the story of the one mission not upheld by any independent evidence, i.e., the one to Suvannabhūmi, is also true in its main outlines. It is admitted that the account of the Ceylonese chronicles, as historical evidence, may not commend itself wholly to scholars, but there is also nothing absurd in the story of Moggaliputta Tissa's mission to Suvannabhūmi headed by two chief *theras*, Sona and Uttara.

But Vincent Smith dismissed the tradition as 'mythical', and Kern 'felt grave suspicions' concerning its authenticity.<sup>38</sup> Kern wrote in 1896, and Smith within a decade of that date; much light has since been thrown by historical and archæological researches on the interesting problem of early Indo-Burmese historical and cultural relations. But

35. Rhys Davids doubted the authenticity of Asoka's missions to Greek countries (*Buddhist India*, pp. 298-99); but his arguments are no longer seriously held.

36. Geiger in his introduction to the *Mahāvamsa* adduces very important arguments not only in favour of the mission to Ceylon but of the general historicity of all the missions referred to in the Ceylonese chronicles.

37. *Mahāvamsa*, Introd. pp. xix-xx; Rockill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 167; Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 267, 289, 319.

38. Smith, *Asoka* (1901), p. 55; *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 198 ff.; Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, 1896, p. 117.

though nothing has been found definitely to establish the historicity of the mission itself, the force of the opposition seems to have subsided to a considerable extent.

Kern's objections are easily met. He suspects the duumvirate Sona-Uttara, and thinks that the chroniclers confused the *thera* Sonottara or simply Uttara of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's time with the *theras* alleged to have been sent by Moggaliputta. But one fails to understand why the chroniclers should confuse any one of the two *theras* or both with the *thera* Sonottara or Uttara living in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (101-77 B. C.). Sona and Uttara of Asoka's time were removed by at least a century and a half from Sonottara or Uttara of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's time; and there is hardly any evidence in the Ceylonese chronicles of such a curious confusion. As to the later name Sonottara or Uttara, it is not unusual to adopt names of earlier *theras*, sometimes of single individuals, sometimes of two jointly. Kern further argues that the duumvirate Sona and Uttara are unknown to northern Buddhists. This argument is at best an example of *argumentum ex silentio*. Majjhima, Kassapa and Majjhantika and their missions are also equally unknown to northern Buddhists, nor are they mentioned in any of the edicts of Asoka; but there is no more room for doubting their authenticity.

Vincent Smith's objections are more substantial. Much of his statements and arguments would not have, it is certain, been repeated to-day had he lived to tackle the problem now after a lapse of more than a quarter of a century. What remains to-day of his long discourse may be summarised in two arguments; (a) Rock Edicts Nos. V and XIII give a list of the countries to which he sent missionaries to propagate the religion, but there is absolutely no mention in this list of the mission to Suvāṇṇabhūmi. "The silence of the edicts concerning the alleged fact goes a long way towards disproving its reality, for Asoka seems to have intended to give a complete account of his missionary operations, and if he had really sent emissaries to Suvāṇṇabhūmi



previous to the publication of the Rock Edicts, it is inconceivable that he should have omitted to mention in them an event of such importance..." Elsewhere he states, "Facts vouched for by the inscriptions of Asoka may, therefore, be accepted without question, because the testimony is good on the face of it, and no better can be looked for. When the evidence of the inscriptions differs from that of later literary traditions, the epigraphic authority should be preferred without hesitation". (b) There is no mention of the mission of Sona and Uttara also in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions (1476 A.D.) which give a summary of the history of the introduction and progress of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma. Of the two arguments the first one still holds good, but the second is practically of no force to-day. For, it has recently been pointed out by Dr. Blagden, the learned editor of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, that a reference to the mission of Sona and Uttara does occur in the celebrated records. We shall, therefore, meet the second argument first, though it is less material in view of the fact that the story of the history of the introduction and progress of Buddhism in Burma as recorded in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions is not original and independent, but seems rather to have been brought from Ceylon by the monks who were sent by king Dhammaceti (1460-91) to the island to reintroduce a canonically valid monastic succession in Lower Burma where the Order had long been split up into schismatical sects. Moreover, the evidence of the Kalyāṇī inscription, in respect of its historical value, is no better than that of the Ceylonese chronicles; it is also about nine centuries later in date. The crux of the question rests finally, therefore, on the value of the Ceylonese chronicles themselves.

It is to the credit of king Dhammaceti of Pegu that the present Buddhist Church and organisation of Burma stands as it is to-day.

This reformer-king caused a long detailed history of Buddhism in Burma to be recorded in the celebrated Kalyāṇī inscriptions (1476 A.D.) of Pegu. The story is prefaced



by a good deal of historical matter relating to earlier periods in the long history of Buddhism and particularly to its vicissitudes in Ceylon and introduction and development in Burma.<sup>39</sup> These interesting details are introduced by a statement regarding Asoka's reformation of the Buddhist Church and the mission of Sona and Uttara to Suvannabhūmi.

"At the conclusion of this Council (the Third Buddhist Council convened by Asoka) Moggaliputtatissa mahāthera reflected that in the future the Religion would be established in neighbouring foreign countries and sent such theras as Majjhantika thera with the injunction; 'Do you establish the religion in those neighbouring foreign countries?'" Of these theras, he sent out lord Mahinda thera to establish the religion in the island of Tambapaṇṇi, and Sona thera and Uttara thera to establish the religion in the Môn country which was also called Suvannabhūmi".<sup>40</sup>

Here is then a definite mention of the Asoka-mission otherwise than in Ceylonese chronicles. Prof. Blagden would have us, therefore, believe that statement of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions to be not 'altogether devoid of any foundation'. "Sona and Uttara", he says, "have long been claimed by Burma as founders of their branch of the Church; and though the tale has been embellished with many legendary accretions in the course of ages, it can hardly on that account be dismissed. Evidence is gradually accumulating from various different quarters which tends to show that Indian influence made itself felt in Indo-China from about

39. *Ep. Birm.*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 82.

40. *Ep. Birm.*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 185 Text A, lines 3-6. The identification of Suvannabhūmi with the Môn country rests on this passage. Blagden adds a note and states, "So far as can be conjectured from the fragmentary remains of the Môn text, it probably expresses itself in this way—*In Suvannabhūmi which is the Môn country.*

the beginning of the Christian era, or possibly even two or three centuries before that date; and there seems to be nothing antecedently improbable in the story of a Buddhist mission being sent there at a relatively earlier period, though it may well be hazardous to fix that date exactly”.

We now turn to the first argument of Smith. That argument is convincing so far as it goes, but it does not go very far. There is no gainsaying the fact that when ‘the evidence of the inscriptions (of Asoka) differs from that of later literary traditions, the epigraphic authority should be preferred without hesitation’. We, therefore, must accept first of all and without reserve the testimony of Asoka’s Rock Edicts V and XIII with regard to the list of countries where missionaries were sent. But we may proceed also one step further, for, we have already seen that the tradition with regard to at least two of the countries, namely, Kāśmīra and the Himalayan countries to which, according to the Ceylonese chronicles, Asoka is said to have sent missions, are not mentioned in the list as supplied by the Edicts, but is nevertheless upheld by other independent sources. The evidence of the chronicles has, therefore, some claim to be considered at least as supplementing that of the Edicts. The other side of the argument involves a well-known logical fallacy, that of *argumentum ex silentio*. No one can possibly maintain that there is any cogency in such an argument. The hollowness of it can at once be pointed out. That ‘the silence of the Edicts concerning the alleged fact’ does not go very far towards disproving the reality of any of the missions referred to in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa* is established by the historicity of the missions to Kāśmīra and the Himalayan countries no reference to which is made in the records of Asoka. The omission, therefore, of the mission of Sona and Uttara in the records of Asoka does not prove or disprove the authenticity of the Ceylonese tradition.

If an attempt has been made above to meet the arguments of Kern and Smith, it is not intended to assert that the

Ceylonese story of the mission to Suvannabhūmi is absolutely certain, or to say that it is definitely established. All that is suggested is that once the general historicity of the story of the missions listed in the Ceylonese chronicles is accepted, and we have seen that there is hardly any difficulty in accepting it, the presumption will always be in favour of the Sona-Uttara tradition.<sup>41</sup>

## IX

### Conclusions

Now to conclude: We have in the foregoing pages traversed a wide expanse of time covering a period of over twelve hundred years in our attempt to find out traces of Buddhism, mainly of the orthodox or *Theravāda* School, in Burma before Anawrahta's conquest of Thaton and the consequent introduction of *Theravāda* Buddhism in Pagan in about the middle of the eleventh century of the Christian era. We began naturally with the state of Buddhism in

41. "The scepticism with which modern scholars have received it is perhaps unmerited, but the preaching of these missionaries, if it ever took place, cannot at present be connected with other historical events. Nevertheless, the statement of the *Dīpavaṃsa* (and also of the *Mahāvāṃsa*) is significant. The work was composed in the fourth century A.D. and taken from older chronicles. It may, therefore, be concluded that in the early centuries of our era, Burma had the reputation of being a Buddhist country." Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, pp. 50-51. M. Louis Finot, who is, however, gravely suspicious of the Buddhaghosa tradition, also thinks that the historicity of the Aśoka mission has been contested without much convincing reason, *JA.*, XX, 1912, pp. 121 ff. In this connection, Tāranātha's testimony also, I think, deserves consideration. According to him Hinayānism in the Koki land (which, he states, included Pukham=Pagan, and Haṃsāvati=Pegu) was preached from the days of Aśoka onwards, but Mahāyānism was not known until the disciples of Vasubandhu introduced it.

Thaton when Anawrahta made a conquest of the country and tracing backwards ended with the tradition of the Asoka-mission of Sona and Uttara to Suvannabhūmi. Not all the traces of footprints of the march of the Religion through all these centuries are, it is true, equally distinct and pronounced; some of them are absolutely definite and may be treated as authentic history; some are less certain resting as they do on certain assumptions not yet definitely proved, but accepted none the less by all serious scholars as working hypotheses; some even are based merely on traditions which fall far short of history, but critically considered they have strong claims to be recognised as containing germs of sober and authentic history that lie enmeshed in the thick web of mythical and legendary details. Somehow, we are thus able to present at least some unconnected facts in the early history of the most important school of Buddhism in Burma; and these facts may be summarised as follows:

(1) Asoka sends a mission headed by Sona and Uttara to evangelise the land of Suvannabhūmi (C. 250 B. C.) This tradition has some claims to be considered as a fact of history.

(2) Chinese travellers see Buddhism, a flourishing religion at Lin-Yang, identical with Prome or some region in Central Burma (C. 250 A.D.). This point rests on the identification of Chin-Lin with Chin-ch'en which, however, is accepted by all scholars.

(3) Buddhaghosa infuses new life into the religion of the Master in Lower Burma (C. 400-450 A. D.). The character of the tradition is suspicious, but circumstantial evidence lends a colour of probability to it.

(4) Pāli as the language of Theravāda Buddhism is known and understood, and Pāli canonical texts are studied and discussed in their doctrinal and most abstruse aspects (C. 400-450 A. D.) in at least the capital city of the old kingdom of Prome. This point is absolutely certain.

(5) I-Ching testifies to the prevalence of Buddhism in Śrikṣetra (Old Prome) and Lang-chia-shu or Laṅkāsu (Tennasserim) (C. 675-700 A.D.). This point is absolutely certain; the identification of Laṅkāsu with Tennasserim is, however, tentative.

(6) T'ang Chronicles refer to Buddhism as the religion of the people in the capital of the kingdom of P'iao (=Pyu), identical with Old Prome (C. 750-850 A.D.). This is as good as sober history.

(7) Sculptures, bronzes, terracotta votive tablets, epigraphic documents, and monuments of the ruined capital of Old Prome point to a very flourishing condition of the religion in that kingdom (C. 550-950). This is definite.

(8) Burmese Chronicles refer to the prevalence of Buddhism in Pegu where it sometimes came into conflict with Brahmanical Hinduism (C. 1000-1050). This tradition certainly contains germs of sober and authentic history.

And lastly,

(9) The story of Anawrahta's conquest of Thaton points to a very flourishing state of the religion in the Talaing kingdom towards the middle of the eleventh century (1057 A.D.).

## The Copper-plate of Barabudur, 828 Śaka.

By HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

This copper-plate was dug out from the neighbourhood of Barabudur. Through the intermediary of Mr. Leydie Melville, Dr. Bosch received this plate for inspection and he has offered us a transcription of the same.<sup>1</sup> The date of the inscription was variously read as 828 and 848, but the former date appears now to be generally accepted.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription records a difference of opinion between the *rāmantas* of Palēpangan and the *nāyaka*, viz., *bhagawanta* Jyotiṣa, regarding some *sawaḥ*-fields. It was maintained by the latter that these fields measured *lamwit* 4 and for each *tampaḥ* the *rāmantas* were charged to pay silver 6 *dharaṇa*. When the *rāmantas* made representation to the *raḡryān mapatiḥ i Hino* viz. *Pu Dakṣottama bāhubajra-pratipakṣakṣaya*, a re-measurement took place and it was found that the fields measured much less. For each *tampaḥ* of these re-measured lands, the *rāmantas* were charged to pay silver 6 *dharaṇa*.

This explanation of the inscription differs however from that of Dr. Bosch who remarked in the *Oudheidkundige Verslag* for 1917 that the inscription records a difference of opinion regarding some principles of Astronomy. I consider this interpretation of the text to be doubtful, because Jyotiṣa is a proper name with the honourable title of *bhagawanta*. This title also occurs in other inscriptions, e. g., in the Sukabhumi inscription of 784 A.D., *OJO* nos. XCVII, XCIX, etc. Besides, the contents of other portions of this inscription run counter to the view of Dr. Bosch.

1. *OV*, 1917, p. 88.

2. For references, see *BKI*, 75 (1919) p. 8 ff.; *OV*, 1920, p. 98 ff.; 1922, p. 85; 1923, p. 105; Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 186.



If my interpretation of the text is correct, it would appear that there were either different standards of measuring lands in different parts of Java (as in medieval Bengal) or there were abuses in land-measurements. As the *rāmas* of Palēpangan did not agree with *sang nayaka bhagawanta* Jyotiṣa about the measurement of their *sawah*-fields, it seems that the *bhagawanta* could also be connected with land-measurements, and were not simply spiritual personages, as seems to be suggested by Prof. Krom in *Geschiednis* p. 161 in his remark on the *bhagawantas* of Culanggi. It also appears that the institution of the *bhagawantas* was not exclusively confined to the region of Dieng. It is also noteworthy that in the dispute between the *rāmas* and the *nāyaka-bhagawanta*, the appeal directly lay to the *rakrayān mapatih i hino*, who was at this time Dakṣottama bāhubajrapratipakṣa-kṣaya. There were also different names for denoting lands of various sizes, such as *blaḥ*, *suku*, *tampaḥ*, *lamwit*, etc. The *tampaḥ haji* appears to be the royal standard of measuring lands; the inscription itself says that 1 *tampaḥ haji* = 100 *ḍpa sihwax* 30 *ḍpa sihwa*. Reference has also been made to lands devoted to the service of deities. It is probably the same deities to whom tributes were brought for worship in the month of Māgha. It is instructive to recall in this connection that the inscription refers at least to one *vihāra*, that of Pahai, in l. 12.

### TEXT

1. ||O|| swasti śakawaṣātita<sup>3</sup> 828.....māsa tithi aṣṭami<sup>4</sup>  
śukla-pakṣa; ha; wa; śu; wāra irikā diwasa  
rāmanta i palēpangan makabehan i
2. nanugrahān wineḥ makmitana prasasti<sup>5</sup> de rakryān  
mapatih i hino pu dakṣottama bāhubajra pratipakṣa-  
kṣaya samwandhanya sangkā i tan patūt nikanang

3. Read: °tita.

4. Read: °mī.

5. Read: °śasti.

3. rāma lawan sang nayaka bhagawanta jyotiṣa ikanang sawaḥnya sinangguḥ lamwit 4 kinon ta ya modhāra pirak dhā 6 i satampaḥ satampaḥ kunang sangkā ri
4. hōtnya tan wnang modhāra samangkana yata matang yan panamwaḥ rāmanta i rakryan mapatiḥ kinonakan sawaḥnya ukuran<sup>6</sup> ing tampaḥ haji sinangguḥ
5. tampaḥ haji sātus ḍpa sihwā pañjangnya singkrēnya tlung puluh ḍpa sihwā kinon mangukura wadwa rakryan i hino sang brahmā muang rowang samgat pring sakañcur
6. mijilakanya lamwit 1 tampaḥ 7 blaḥ 1 ikana samangkana yata kinon modhāra pirak dhā 6 i satampaḥ jari rāmanta matahil pirak dhā
7. 6 i satampaḥ satampaḥ piṇḍa pirak patahil rāmanta rikanang sawaḥ lamwit 1 tampaḥ 7 blaḥ 1 pirak kā 5 dhā 5 len sangkā ri pilih mas muang kaṭik prāṇa
8. 8 mara i bhaṭāra prāna<sup>7</sup> 4 i sang nayaka prāna<sup>7</sup> 4 piṇḍa sawaḥ ni kaṭik lamwit 1 tampaḥ 1 suku 1 kina-behanya sawaḥ rāmanta lamwit 1 blaḥ 1 katuha la
9. wan tampaḥ 4 kapkanan tampaḥ 1 nāhan pratyeka ning sawaḥ rāmanta sampunyan inukur i tampaḥ haji len sumangkā rika hana ta sawaḥ bhaṭāra kmitan rā
10. manta lamwit 1 dmak ni pajamūla lamwit 1 tan inukur ika āpan hinanyan swabhāwanya muang lañjān pirak dhā 14 patutan pirak dhā 4; panurat pira
11. k mā 4 umijil ri māgha winawa sang umikul wali bhaṭāra pawḍus pirak mā 8 umijil ri watangan nāhan anugraha rakryān mapatiḥ i rāmanta i palēpa
12. ngan sapasug banuā tatra saksi<sup>8</sup> samgat pring ḍapunta udāra anak wanua i srāngan pumpunan<sup>9</sup> ni bihāra ing pahai amasangakan i rakryan mapatiḥ...

6. Dr. Bosch reads *uturan* which appears to be a mis-reading for the above.

7. Read: °ṇa.

8. The correct Skt. form is: °kṣi.

9. Read: punpu°.

13. na anak wanua i syutan watěk tiru raṇu tuha kala<sup>10</sup>  
rikang kāla pu baruṇa pu palinī tuha banua pu  
kmir pu gamana pu gambir gusti pu karṇa pu  
aruṇa pu
14. wari guru pu tarañjal pu pradhāna mangrangkpi pu  
kudhut winkas pu sādḥā tuha banua i lampahan pu  
gammar wariga pu bur huler pu bay nā
15. han kweḥ nira mangagam kon kumayatnākan uja(r)  
rakryan mapatiḥ i hino likhita pātra citralekha  
samgat pring.

## TRANSLATION

1. ||O|| Hail! The Śaka year expired, 828, the month of  
..... eighth day of the bright half of the month,  
*haryang*,<sup>11</sup> *wage*,<sup>12</sup> Friday. On this day, all the  
*rāmantas* of Palēpangan
2. were favoured with privileges and were given the pro-  
tection of an edict by the *raḥryān mapatiḥ* of *Hino*  
(viz.) *Pu* Dakṣottama bāhubajrapratipakṣakṣaya.  
The occasion thereof arose from the fact that the  
*rāmas* did not agree
3. with *sang nayaka* (viz.) *bhagawanta* Jyotiṣa<sup>13</sup> that their  
*sawah*-fields measured *lamwit* 4. They were also

10. This appears to be a mistake for: Kalang.

11. A Mal-Polynesian day of the six-day week.

12. A Mal-Polynesian day of the five-day week.

13. While editing this inscription in 1917, Dr. Bosch remarked that the inscription refers to a difference of opinion regarding some principles of astrology. I consider this to be doubtful, as Jyotiṣa is a proper name with the honourable title of *bhagawanta*. This title also occurs in other inscriptions. Besides, the contents of other portions of this inscription run counter to the view of Dr. Bosch.

charged to pay<sup>14</sup> silver 6 *dharaṇa* per *tampah*.  
Moreover, on account of their

4. absence (?),<sup>15</sup> they were not in a position to pay such (charges). That is the reason why the *rāmanta*s paid respects to the *rakryan mapatiḥ*, requesting him that their *sawah*-fields may be measured by *tampah haji*.<sup>16</sup>
5. The *tampah haji* (contained) one hundred *ḍpa sihwā* in length, (while) its breadth was thirty *ḍpa sihwā*. (Accordingly), the *wadwā*-s of the *rakryan* of *Hino* (viz.) *sang* Brahmā and the assistant (*rowang*) *samgat* Pring,<sup>17</sup> (and) *sa*(ng) Kañcur, were charged to take the measurement.
6. (Ultimately) their (measurement) appeared to be *lamwit 1 tampah 7 blaḥ 1*. For all these, they were charged to pay silver 6 *dharaṇa* per *tampah*. Now the *rāmanta*-s paid (their) dues (viz.) silver 6 *dharaṇa*
7. per *tampah*; the total amount of silver as dues against the *rāmanta*-s in respect of the *sawah*-fields (measuring) *lamwit 1 tampah 7 blaḥ 1* was silver 5 *ḥati* 5 *dharaṇa*. Moreover, outside these (stipulations they shall give) some gold and 8 living animals (?).<sup>18</sup> (Hereof)

14. The text has *modbāra*, whereof the root appears to be *u* (*d*) *dhara*. The term therefore appears to have the same significance as *soddhara* in *soddhara haji* (=drawya haji).

15. *Hōt* literally means 'conceal,' but the context makes this interpretation less acceptable.

16. Lit. royal *tampah*. This measure was probably adopted to avoid possible abuses in survey.

17. He appears in the *rōle* of a scribe towards the close of the inscription.

18. Horses? See the remark of Dr. Stutterheim on *kaṭik prāṇa* in *TBG*, 65, p. 241 f.n. 61.

8. 4 animals shall come to the deity (*bhaṭāra*) and 4 animals to *sang nayaka*. The total amount of *sawaḥ*-fields for (the grazing of ?) the living animals (?) shall be *lamwit* 1 *tampaḥ* 1 *suku* 1,<sup>19</sup> all together. The *sawaḥ*-fields of the *rāmanta*-s shall be *lamwit* 1 *blaḥ*<sup>20</sup> 1, of the united body of the *tuha*-s
9. also 4 *tampaḥ*-s, of the united body of the *apaḥan*-s 1 *tampaḥ*. Such are the specifications of the *sawaḥ*-fields of the *rāmanta*-s: henceforward they are measured by *tampaḥ haji*. Moreover, outside these (specifications), there are the *sawaḥ*-fields of the deity (*bhaṭāra*) to be protected by the
10. *rāmanta*-s: (they are) *lamwit* 1. The gift to the cause of worship<sup>21</sup> (?) is *lamwit* 1. These were not measured on account of their position and their (religious) character. Moreover, the *lañjān*(s)<sup>22</sup> shall bring silver 14 *dharaṇa*, the *patutan*(s)<sup>23</sup> silver 4 *dharaṇa* (and) the *panurat*(s)<sup>24</sup> silver
11. 4 *māṣa*, as tribute in the month of Māgha. *Walī*-offerings for the deity (*bhaṭāra*) consisting of goat(s) and silver 8 *māṣa*, are to be brought by bearers as tribute at the audience-hall (of the deity). Such is the favour of the *raḥryān mapatiḥ* to the *rāmanta*-s of Palēpangan,
12. of the whole extent of the village. Witnesses thereof are: *samgat* Pring (viz.) *ḍapunta* Udāra (who is) resi-

19. The remarks of Dr. Stutterheim on this word in *Ibid.*, p. 242 f.n. 63 may not be correct.

20. In l. 6 above, it has been stated that the re-survey of fields measured *lamwit* 1 *tampaḥ* 7 *blaḥ* 1. Here we notice the omission of *tampaḥ* 7 from the share of the *rāmanta*-s. It appears therefore that this portion was distributed for other purposes. Cf. ll. 8-10.

21. *Paja* may be a mistake for *pu*° (Skt. *Pūjā*).

22. Apparently a class of people of unknown functions.

23. They may refer to 'followers'.

24. The scribe (s).

- dent of Srāṅgan in subservience to the *vihāra* at Pahai; the *amasangakan*<sup>25</sup> of the *rakryan mapatiḥ* ..
13. resident of Syutan under Tiru raṇu; the *tuha kala(ng)-s* of the time (viz.) *Pu Baruṇa*, *Pu Palinī*; the *tuha banua-s* (viz.) *Pu Kmir*, *Pu Gamana*, *Pu Gambir*; the *gusti-s* (viz.) *Pu Karṇa*, *Pu Aruṇa*, *Pu*
14. Wari; the *guru-s*<sup>26</sup> (viz.) *Pu Tarañjal*, *Pu Pradhāna*, the *mangrangḷpi* (viz.) *Pu Kudhut*; the *winkas* (viz.) *Pu Sādhā*; the *tuha banua* of Lampahan (viz.) *Pu Gammar*; the *wariga* (viz.) *Pu Bur*; the *huler* (viz.) *Pu Bay*.
15. Now all of them having powers to pass orders<sup>27</sup> took care of the words of the *rakryan mapatiḥ* of Hino. The writer is the *citraleḷha* (viz.) *samgat* Pring.

25. Slave.

26. Lit. *Guru* = Teacher. If we consider that *guru* forms a part of the name of Wari (thus becoming Wariguru), the following two names should then be included under the *gusti-s*.

27. i.e., executive functions.



## MISCELLANY

### Recent Researches on Indo-European Fauna

By DR. BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

To give an idea of Nehring's recent researches on Indo-European culture and original home,<sup>1</sup> it will be best perhaps to give an account of his treatment of Indo-European fauna.

Ridgeway and Antonius are of opinion that *Bos taurus brachyceros* or *longifrons* was the type known to the early Indo-Europeans. Much on the other hand held the view that those types were at home with the early Iberian population of southern Europe, and that the Indo-Europeans knew only the *Primigenius* type. Differing from Schrader, Nehring holds this latter theory to be more accurate. The occurrence of the *brachyceros*-type in early and middle neolithic period in Switzerland suggests that it was known to the pre-Indo-European peoples of this region. The *Podolic* cow of the same type actually occurs in Hungary. Antonius believes that the northern Balkan States were the real home region of the *Primigenius* cow. An East-European original home of the Indo-Europeans would thus have the support of zoology and prehistoric archaeology so far as the Indo-European domestic animal, cow, is concerned.

Zoologists, however, are not unanimous as to the original region of domestication of the *Primigenius* cow. Antonius and Hiltzheimer take it to have been the Mediterranean region and Further Asia, whereas Duerst suggests Anau and Menghin the whole of Trans-Caspiana and Western Turkestan. If, then, the *Primigenius* cow was actually the bovine type known to the Indo-Europeans,

<sup>1</sup> *Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat*: Published by the Institut für Völkerkunde an der Universität Wien, 1936.

they could have got it from further Asia and the Mediterranean region as well as from western Inner-Asia. But the study of the languages may help us to attain greater precision.

Indo-European words for "cow", etc., may be divided into three groups:—

1. Skt. *gauḥ*, Av. *gaus*, Gr. *Boūs*, Arm. *Kov*, Lat. *bos*, Old Irish *bó*, Old High German *hou*, Lettish *gūoos*, etc.

2. Skt. *ukṣan*, Av. *uxšan*, Cymr. *Ych*, Goth. *auhsa*, etc.

3. Gr. *taŭros*, Lat. *taurus*, Old High German *stiur*, etc.

The first group is clearly derived from the I.-E. base *\*g<sup>h</sup>ōu*—which Ipsen (IF. 41, 175ff.) has declared to be a loan-word from Sumerian *gu* (<*gud*) "bull". This will naturally suggest that the Indo-European cattle-breeding was derived from the Mediterranean region. Ipsen's other suggestion regarding agricultural myths of further Asia and their connection with Indo-European culture are indeed not convincing. But his suggested derivation of I.-E. *\*g<sup>h</sup>ōu* from Sum. *gu(d)* is impeccable. In this connection there arises an interesting problem of prehistoric chronology. It is now admitted on all hands that the I.-E. base *\*reudhos* "red, copper" (whence Skt. *loha*, Gr. *eruthrós*, Lat. *rubber*, Old Ch. Sl. *ruda* "Metal", etc.) is ultimately derived from Sum. *urud* "copper". But this metal name must have been taken by the Indo-Europeans from the Sumerians when the word *urud* had not yet lost its final consonant, whereas the original Sumerian word *gud* "cow" had already become *gu* when the Indo-European borrowed it from them. The word for "cow", therefore, must have been borrowed long after that for "copper" from the same people. The final *d* however began to be dropped in Sumerian in the first half of the third millennium B.C. It is permissible to conclude therefore that the domestic animal cow became known to the Indo-Europeans only after this period. This however leads to a chronological impossibility, for everything else seems to suggest that the dispersal of the Indo-

European tribes had begun before this period—in which case this loan-word from Sumerian in this form should not have been known to *all* the chief Indo-European tribes. Moreover, I.-E. *g<sup>h</sup>ōus* is shared by the Indo-Iranians to whom I.-E. agricultural terms are otherwise unknown. At any rate it shows however that cattle-breeding must have been older than agriculture among the Indo-Europeans, and therefore could not have come to them along with the Mediterranean plough-culture.

The derivation of I.-E. \**g<sup>h</sup>ōus* from Sumerian has therefore to be regarded as a linguistic possibility devoid of material and historical basis. But this linguistic possibility deserves to be examined more closely. According to Ipsen Sum. *gu(d)* is derived from still older *mu(d)*, which in its turn very probably goes back to *ngu(d)*. This, however, is the Chinese word for "cow" (*ngū*) which seems to have had a final dental originally. Ipsen and Conrady derive this Chinese word from Sumerian, but is that right? It is fully established on the evidence of Sumerian sculpture that they used to practise the vicious custom of blowing into the vagina of cows for getting more milk. According to Herodotos, the Scythians used to apply bellows into the vulva of their mares for the same purpose. It is one of those customs which the Scythians had brought with them from the Asiatic steppes where it was known from very ancient times. Now that the same custom was prevalent also among the Sumerians, does it not suggest that they had brought with them cattle-breeding from Inner-Asia, particularly as the Inner-Asiatic origin of the Sumerians is quite probable? Some scholars have suggested on independent grounds that originally the Sumerians were the neighbours of the Chinese in Inner-Asia. (Williams, *American Journal of Philology*, I, 207ff.) It has moreover to be remembered that Sumerian has a number of phonological peculiarities in common not only with Chinese, but also with Tibeto-Burman dialects. The I.-E. base under discussion may indeed be concealed in Tibetan *glang*,

*go-lang* meaning "bull". Yet phonologically it is difficult to defend the thesis that Sumerian *gu(d)* was identical with Chinese *ngū*. We should rather think here of a common third source, particularly as the proto-Chinese Hoangho-cultures know only pig and dog but not the cow which was introduced into this region at a later date and passed on to Japan *via* China. Under the circumstances, one is compelled to think of the Inner-Asiatic cattle-breeding cultures as the original source. On the other hand, Ural-Altaic and Tibeto-Burman seem to be connected with Sumerian through a common linguistic stratum. Particularly in this connection we have to note that Altaic too, like Sumerian, knows the mutations  $g > w$  and  $ng > m$ . In some Altaic dialects this *ng* is directly written as *g* as in Sumerian. All this taken together seems to suggest that Sumerian *ngu(d)* finds its linguistic relations among the Inner-Asiatic languages. Chinese *ngu* apparently was not borrowed from Sumerian, but was transmitted to the Chinese from Western Asia along with the cattle-breeding culture. By comparing this far-flung group of words with corresponding ones in the Altaic dialects Nehring finally comes to the conclusion that the Sumerian and the Chinese word for "cow" is probably derived from the Altaic or neighbouring region. The apparent discrepancy between Altaic *kuos* and Sumero-Chinese *ngu(d)* is explained by the phonetic law obtaining in Altaic according to which a final dental regularly becomes *s*.

It has now to be decided whether I.-E.  $*g^{nous}$  was derived from Sum. *ngu(d)*, as Ipsen suggests, or was borrowed from Altaic *kuos*, as Oehl holds. That there are material objections to derivation from Sumerian has been shown already. On the other hand, the connection between the I.-E. form and Altaic *kuos* is quite possible, for *kuos* may after all be nothing but  $k^{nos}$ . The final sibilant of this form might have been felt as the nominative-ending. The I.-E. stem  $*g^{nou-}$  thus might have been easily derived from Altaic *kuos*. Since it is not possible to

explain the occurrence of this word in so many languages simply on the theory of borrowing from the original Indo-European as chronological considerations will not at all brook such a possibility, we have to assume that the stem in question was originally at home in the Altaic region whence it spread eastwards to China and thence to Sumer on the one hand, and on the other to the earliest Indo-Europeans before they began to spread out on Eurasia. This would suggest that the original home of the Indo-Europeans was somewhere near the Ural-Altaic region.

In dealing with the horse too Nehring attacks the problem at first from the view-point of prehistoric archæology and zoology and comes to the conclusion in this respect that the Indo-European horse-culture could have been derived only from the Altaic, but not from the Uralic culture. But the Altaics could not have been the immediate source. Why? Because the use of the horse in the two cultures seems to have been fundamentally different. The Altaics used the horse for food, but the earliest Indo-Europeans—as Nehring argues differing from Schrader—used the horse principally for drawing the chariot. The horse was of course also eaten by them, but that only in course of sacrificial orgies. This explains the rarity of horse finds at the site of the Tripolje-culture which is considered to be the oldest traceable home, if not the original home, of the Indo-Europeans, for it is quite obvious that only the princelings could afford the luxury of chariots to draw which the horses were necessary. Nehring further develops the idea that the horse among the Altaics was used to draw four-wheeled carriages, but the Indo-Europeans struck an innovation by harnessing them to two-wheeled chariots.

These considerations should help us now to clear up the tangle around the I.-E. stem *\*ek<sup>h</sup>os*: Skt. *asva* — which notoriously fails to satisfy the demands of the cognate stems in other I.-E. languages. First of all it has to be borne in mind that as an O-stem the I.-E. *ek<sup>h</sup>os* must have been a very late acquisition to the original idiom. The spiritus



asper in the Greek form is a stumbling block, but it has to be noted that in compounds like 'Alkippos' it is missing. The sp. asp. may however be the outcome of an original *i*. Moreover, how to explain the *i* in the first syllable of the Greek form? It has to be admitted that Skt. *aśva* and *hippos* are phonologically irreconcilable, and yet they are similar enough, both in form and meaning, to suggest a common origin—which, under the circumstances, could have been some non-Indo-European language: the various I.-E. tribes, evidently, could not reproduce this loan-word in the same way in their different dialects. After a strenuous search for the possible source of this loan-word Nehring at last comes to the conclusion that Turkish *okki* meaning "pair" may furnish the clue. The word for "pair" has in various languages actually come to signify "horse". Here again we find that the I.-E. word for "horse" too was very probably derive from an Altaic language.

As for the goat, prehistoric archæology and zoology seem to suggest that various species of this animal were known to the different Indo-European tribes. This is reflected also in the I.-E. dialects, for there we find no less than nine distinct stems for goat: (1) \**aig-*, (2) \**ago-*, (3) \**bhugo-*, (4) \**qago-*, (5) \**kapro-*, (6) \**gabthro-*, (7) \**ghaido-*, (8) \**digha-*, (9) \**qato-*. Now all of them are *o* or *a* stems,—which shows that the words in question were of the latest stratum of Indo-European vocabulary. Moreover, the first three stems belong almost exclusively to the eastern dialects, and the rest almost exclusively to the west. Six of these nine stems are represented in Germanic. These isoglosses clearly suggest that the original home of the tribes concerned should have stretched from the steppes in the east to the hilly tracts in the west. The flat South Russia could not have been the original breeding-ground of the goat which is most at home in the hills. This explains the preponderance of the hilly west in the I.-E. designations for goat.

The consideration of the pig is of peculiar importance in an enquiry about Indo-European fauna, for the pig is not



an animal which can be marched from one country to another over long distances. Nomadic tribes, the Turco-Tartars, for instance, have no pigs. Only comparatively settled peoples could have bred pigs. Two distinct stems were used by the Indo-Europeans to designate this animal: (1) *sū-s*, (Gr. *sūs*, Lat. *sūs*, etc.); Skt. *śūkara* is to be divided into *śuk-ara*, for a stem extended by a guttural can be actually found in other I.-E. languages, e.g. O. Irish *socc*, Gr. *siġa*, etc. (2) *\*porġo-* (Lat. *porcus*, Lith. *parszas*, O. Ch. Sl. *prase*, etc.). There are some stems which did not enjoy such wide popularity, e.g. Lat. *sper* : O.H.G. *ebur*; Gr. *choĩros* : Alb. *der*, etc. The first thing to note about them is that they are o-stems and therefore must be later than *\*sū-* *\*sūq-*. It has been suggested that the wild boar was designated by the stem *\*sūq-*, while *\*porġos* signified the tame household pig which the Indo-Europeans learnt to breed at a later time when they gradually went over to agriculture. Indeed, agricultural terms are directly derived from the word for pig, for English *furrow*, for instance, is connected with Lat. *porca*. In Old Irish *socc* means "plough". It is clear therefore that the pig-breeding Indo-Europeans must have been agriculturists—at least partially. But that is not all. Nehring further shows that the I.-E. stem *\*sū (ġ)-* for wild boar was very probably borrowed from the Finno-Ugrian dialects.

To sum up :

(1) In the case of some of the animals, it would be improbable or quite impossible to localise their breeding in Northern Europe.

(2) There is nothing however against localising them in South-East Europe.

(3) In most cases the origin of the animal concerned or breeding of the same must be referred to Asia.

(4) Striking similarities with the designations of the animals in Asiatic languages could not have been fortuitous. Indo-European cattle-breeding must have been largely determined by Asiatic influences.

## Recent advances in Kambuja studies

By DR. B. R. CHATTERJEE

Southern and Eastern India seem to have been in close touch from very remote times with Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago. Professor Sylvain Lévi has given ample evidence from linguistic and cultural data of intimate relations in prehistoric times between the peoples inhabiting the western and eastern coasts of the Bay of Bengal. His conclusions may be summed up in his own words :—"Adventurers, merchants and missionaries (in later times) followed, under better conditions of comfort and efficiency, the way traced from time immemorial by the mariners of another race (Mon-Khmèr), whom Aryan India despised as savages." Recent ethnological researches confirm this theory.

We shall confine ourselves in this short sketch to the spread of Indian cultural influences in Cambodia during the period for which we have recorded history. What was at first only commercial intercourse (between India and Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago) was followed about the first century A. D. by political influence. As Winstedt writes : ( *JRAS*, Malay Branch, March, 1935). "The old Indian trade in beads of semi-precious stones antedated by centuries the coming of the Hindus at the beginning of the Christian era.... The arrival of Hindus in the Malay world was neither sudden, violent nor overwhelming. A ship or so came with the monsoon to exchange beads for gold, tin, camphor, etc.... Here and there a passenger won regard as a warrior or worker in magic. Some married local brides. Priests came with the Sanskrit lore. The coming of the Hindu might have been very similar to the later arrival of the Muslim from India and Arabia."

Information from Chinese sources, supplemented by a Campā (Annam) inscription, point to a Kaundinya as the founder of the first important Hinduised State in Indo-China known to us by the name of Fū-nan (the Chinese version of

a vernacular name). This probably happened in the first century A.D. A second Kaunḍinya also visited Fū-nan *via* the Isthmus of Kra and is said to have completely 'Indianised' the country. The Kaunḍinyas seem to have been very influential in South India in the second century A.D. A second century (Mysore) inscription of a Cuṭu Śātakarṇi king and a fourth century inscription of a Kadamba king record grants of land, in connection with a Śiva shrine, to Brāhmaṇas of the Kaunḍinya gotra. From the second inscription it appears that the donee, a Brāhmaṇa of the Kaunḍinya gotra, was related to the donor, the Kadamba king. The Kaunḍinyas, who went to Fū-nan, might have belonged to this aristocratic Brāhmaṇa family of South India—(JBORS, 1933).

The Chinese name Fū-nan represents the old Khmèr word *vnam* (in modern Khmèr Phnom) which means a hill. (Khmèr is the Cambodian vernacular). Gerini proposed to identify the capital of ancient Fū-nan with the site now called Ba Phnom (Vrah Vnam in old Khmèr). M. Çœdès has now accepted this identification. The capital of Fū-nan, according to Çœdès, was at the foot of the hill Ba Phnom and it was known as Vyādhapura for centuries in Cambodian history. Ba Phnom is very near the apex of the delta of the Mekong. Fū-nan (was Śrī Śaila the Sanskrit equivalent?) developed into a large and powerful state. It came to include not only modern Cambodia, but also Laos, Cochin China, Siam and a considerable portion of the Malay Peninsula. Within this large sphere of influence there were principalities like that of the Kambujas (Cambodians) attached to Fū-nan only by a loose tie of allegiance.

The Chinese chronicles were our only sources of information about Fū-nan till M. Çœdès deciphered in 1931 two inscriptions, one Vaiṣṇava and the other Buddhist in subject-matter, which may safely be attributed to this Fū-nan period of Indo-Chinese history. The first inscription, of a royal prince Guṇavarman, is closely related on account of the archaic nature of its writing to certain inscriptions of Borneo,

Campā and Java which have been accepted as belonging to the fourth or early fifth century A. D. by epigraphists. In fact, the script is of a much earlier type than that of the inscriptions of Bhavavarman, the earliest hitherto known king in Cambodia, which belong to the middle of the sixth century. A. D. Again the second inscription mentions by name two kings described in Chinese chronicles as the last two monarchs of Fū-nan reigning in the first half of the sixth century. This second inscription on paleographical grounds seems to belong to a later date (early sixth century) than the first inscription, which, therefore, should be attributed to probably the first half of the fifth century A. D.

The introductory lines of the first inscription are illegible. But in the second half of it we are told that Guṇavarman, son of king (name illegible), had established on this earth the impress of the feet of Bhagavān. On the eighth day, this holy object, consecrated by Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vedas, Upavedas, and Vedāṅgas, was proclaimed by learned sages throughout the world as Cakratīrthasvāmī. In the concluding stanzas it is stated that all that had been donated to Bhagavān should be at the disposal of all pious Bhāgavatas, and that the *mahātmā*, who would carefully look after the property of the god, would attain the supreme bliss of Viṣṇuloka.

This recently deciphered inscription, which probably belongs to the first half of the fifth century A. D., is the earliest inscription hitherto discovered in Cambodia.

In 484 A. D., Jayavarman Kaunḍinya of Fū-nan sent an envoy to the Imperial court of China. This envoy, who was a monk of the name of Śākya Nāgasena, told the Emperor of China that the cult of the god Maheśvara flourished in Fū-nan. The god had his perpetual abode on Mount Motan where auspicious trees grew in abundance. This sacred mountain may now be identified with the hill called Ba Phnom.

The second of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Fū-nan belongs to the reign of Rudravarman, the successor of

Jayavarman. It begins with an invocation to the Buddha "whose compassionate mind is devoted to the good of others". Then follows an eulogy of king Rudravarman. After this we find that king Jayavarman, father of king Rudravarman, appointed as inspector of royal property the son of a pious Brāhmaṇa. The last portion is illegible. As Rudravarman is mentioned by Chinese historians as reigning in 539 A. D., this inscription is to be attributed to the first half of the sixth century A. D. Soon after this Fū-nan was pushed into the background by its vassal State Chen-la (Chinese name for Kambuja or Cambodia). This happened about the middle of the sixth century A. D. From this period begins a long succession of Sanskrit and Khm̐r (the Cambodian vernacular) inscriptions which become our chief source of information regarding Kambuja or Cambodia.

We have already mentioned that Fū-nan, whose rulers traced their descent from Kauṇḍinya and resided at Vyādhapura, counted among their feudatories the rulers of Kambuja (in Chinese Chen-la) who had made Śreṣṭhapura (Vat Phu) their capital. The Kambuja princes, who traced their descent from Ṛṣi Kambu, rapidly grew in power, and the first two princes whose names we know—Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman—made Kambuja independent of Fū-nan. "They liberated the people from the chains of tribute" (Baksei Chamkron inscription). On the death of Rudravarman, the last monarch of Fū-nan mentioned in Chinese annals, there was a dispute as regards the succession to the throne. Bhavavarman, who was the ruler of Kambuja at this time and who was also related to Rudravarman (who might have been Bhavavarman's maternal grandfather) seized this opportunity to conquer part of Fū-nan with the help of his brother Citrasena known as Mahendravarman when he ascended the throne afterwards. Fū-nan was not completely destroyed. The monarchs of Fū-nan retreated to the region south of their ancient capital Vrah Vnam. But Fū-nan ceased to be the paramount power in Indo-China as it had been hitherto.



The conquest of Fū-nan was completed by Īsānavarman, the son and successor of Mahendravarman, who seized the ancient capital Vrah Vnam. Chinese historians mention Īsānavarman as the conqueror of Fū-nan.

Thus fell Fū-nan—probably the earliest of the Indianised kingdoms in Indo-China. Till very recently all our information about it was derived solely from Chinese sources. Now we know from the two Sanskrit inscriptions deciphered in 1931 that Vaiṣṇavism as well as Buddhism flourished side by side with the cult of Śiva in this realm. Indeed, the earliest sculptures discovered hitherto on Cambodian soil are Buddhist and belong to the Gupta school of art. They may be safely assigned to the Fū-nan period. I-tsing laments at the end of the 7th century that the law of Buddha, which had prospered in Fū-nan, had been completely destroyed by a wicked king—probably a successor of Īsānavarman and a staunch Śaiva (the whole dynasty being fervent worshippers of Śiva). The inscriptions of Cambodia begin with Bhavavarman's reign. As regards technique, Kambuja epigraphy shows generally a symmetry and elegant finish but rarely found in Indian inscriptions and the literary skill shown in some of them is of a high order.

A new inscription of Īsānavarman has been discovered recently at Sambor. It commemorates the consecration of a Śiva *liṅga* in 549 S. E. (627 A. D.) by the Brāhmaṇa Vidyāviśeṣa—a high official of king Īsānavarman. Vidyāviśeṣa, the pious founder, according to this inscription, possessed a sound knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, the systems of Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya and Buddhism. It should be noted that Buddhism has been placed here among the orthodox systems of Hindu philosophy.

To the reign of Īsānavarman should also be assigned the brick temples of Sambor, Hindu shrines consisting in some cases of groups of buildings, in other cases of isolated, structures crowned with a *prasat* or tower. The ornamental work is sober and resembles Gupta art. Indeed, North-Indian influence is more apparent than that of



South India in Cambodian architecture of the seventh century.

Kambuja history during the greater part of the eighth century is a blank. Anarchical conditions prevailed as the realm was split up among rival powers. In the genealogies of later kings, e. g., Yaśovarman and Rājendravarman as recorded in their inscriptions, we find that the chief object is to link up these ninth and tenth century monarchs with all the ancient dynasties which ruled in succession or simultaneously in the realm which Jayavarman II succeeded in unifying. Thus Yaśovarman (889-910 A. D.) and Rājendravarman (944-968 A. D.) claim the heritage of Vyādhapura (capital of old Fū-nan), Śambhupura (capital, after Śreṣṭhapura, of old Kambuja—the Land Chen-la of the Chinese) and Aninditapura (the Water Chen-la of the Chinese). The anarchy of the eighth century was probably due to the rivalry of these contending states. Vyādhapura has been identified with Ba Phnom. The inscription of Vat Cakret in the vicinity of Ba Phnom (which, we have already seen, was the Khm̐r equivalent of the Chinese name of Fū-nan) records a donation by Harṣavarman I to Adrivyādhapureśa (Śiva of Vyādhapura on the hill). Till recently Vyādhapura had been identified with Ankor Borei on the other side of the river Mekong.

Śambhupura is the present Sambor on the Mekong. The main reason why Yaśovarman is anxious to be linked with the rulers of Śambhupura is that Jayavarman II belongs to Śambhupura. On his return from Javā it was in the vicinity of Śambhupura that Jayavarman II first established himself.

Aninditapura is to be traced to the east of Angkor on the north bank of the Great Lake. In Rājendravarman's genealogy that monarch traces his descent from Bālāditya, King of Aninditapura, who claimed descent from Kaunḍinya—the founder of Fū-nan. Either the last princes of the ancient realm of Fū-nan shifted from Vyādhapura (after its capture by Īśānavarman) to Aninditapura, or it was a

branch of the dynasty of Bhavavarman of Kambuja which, pitting itself against the other branch made Aninditapura its headquarters. Bhavavarman and his successors, after their conquest of Fū-nan, also claimed descent from Kaunḍinya like the Fū-nan monarchs whom they had overthrown. Either this was an attempt to represent themselves as the legitimate rulers of the realm as they (Bhavavarman and his successors) might really have been related to the last monarchs of Fū-nan.

In any case it was Jayavarman II (latter part of the 9th century to 854 A.D.) who closed this period of anarchy by bringing about again the unity of Kambuja. The inscription of the High Priests of Devarāja (the Royal God) gives us interesting information about some events of his reign. We learn from this record that he came from Javā (was he an exile there?) and invited a Brāhmaṇa from 'janapada' (his own country Śambhupura?) to draw up a ritual. This Brāhmaṇa taught the royal *purohita* four texts (*Vināśika*, *Nayottara*, *Sammoha* and *Śiraścheda*) and drew up a ritual for the worship of Deva Rāja, the tutelary deity of Kambuja. Some of these texts have been traced by Dr. P. C. Bagchi in the Nepal Durbar Library. *Śiraścheda* seems to be identical with the *Jayadrathayāmala* of which a copy exists in Nepal. *Naya-* and *Uttara sūtras* (together constituting *Nayottara*) form a part of the *Niśvāstattvasaṃhitā* in the Nepal Library. *Vināśika* seems to have been a supplement to the *Jayadrathayāmala*. These Tantras were therefore of North-Indian origin. In the *Brahmayāmala*, three of the texts, *Nayottara*, *Sammoha*, and *Śiraścheda*, are referred to as issuing from the left current (*vāmasrota*).

What was this 'Javā' from which place Jayavarman II came to reign in Kambuja? Till recently Javā was identified with Zābaj or Śrīvijaya. This identification was based on the supposition that the Bayon, originally a Mahāyāna temple, was begun in Jayavarman II's reign. Now that we are sure that the Bayon belongs to a much later date, we need not stick to the identification

of 'Javā' with Śrīvijaya. It is likely that Jayavarman II came of Javā itself where a cult resembling that of the Devarāja was already flourishing.

Jayavarman II not only introduced Tāntric Śaivism, he is also represented in the inscriptions as having built many capitals one after another. The first capital Indrapura was near the ancient Śambhupura which seems to have been Jayavarman's ancestral home. The other capitals were near the Great Lake (Tonle Sap) which region from this time becomes the political centre of Kambuja. Of these capitals but few traces remain, as being only temporary residences they were built of perishable material. The golden age of Khmèr architecture had not yet begun. A group of three brick towers of the 9th century, on the site of Bantiay Kedei is the first vestige of pre-Angkor art at Angkor and has now been accepted as a hitherto undiscovered capital of Jayavarman II. Jayavarman II's reign came to a close in 854 A. D. and not in 869 A.D. as hitherto supposed. The latter date (869) was based on a wrong rendering of a damaged inscription. That does not mean that Jayavarman II had not a long reign. He began his reign not in 802 A.D., as is generally supposed. In that year he founded his capital on Mahendra Parvata after having abandoned three previous capitals.

*(To be continued)*

## REVIEWS

**Netherlands India: A STUDY OF PLURAL ECONOMY**—By J. S. Furnivall, Cambridge University Press. pp. 502+xxiv., 1938

The author of this comprehensive study of the Dutch East Indies is a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, who after his period of service in Burma has been carrying on research studies as Honorary Research Fellow of the University of Rangoon. His contact with Burma has led him to the impression that "much as England has Europe for its background, so Burma has for its background the tropical Far East" and hence his investigations of the political, social and economic history and development of that part of the Far East which has been under Dutch sovereignty for more than three centuries. Undoubtedly there are close socio-economic analogies between Burma and India: in fact, the author begins his study of the Indies by a brief historical reference to the process of colonisation of the "Other India" from Continental India.

Netherlands India, picturesquely described as "a girdle of emerald, flung round the Equator," comprises the whole Malayan archipelago, except the Philippines and parts of New Guinea, Borneo and Timor, and covers an area of 7 lakhs of square miles. Controlling, in a manner, the two gateways into eastern waters—Malacca and Sunda straits—its strategic importance is of no mean consequence to both the defence of British Empire in Asia and Australia and the Dutch Government in Batavia and the Hague. As a result of recent events Amboyna is being developed, like Singapore, though on a much smaller scale, as a great arsenal, its harbour is being reconstructed and the garrison reinforced. In the world's economy the crucial position of the Dutch Indies may be realised from the fact that in 1937 80 per cent. of the world's export of pepper, 38 per cent. of

the world's export of rubber, 30 per cent. of the world's export of cocoanut palm, came from the Dutch Indies, which are also well-supplied with petroleum, tin sugar, tea, oil-seeds, copra and cinchona.<sup>1</sup> Apart from these, the Dutch Indies offers to the student a rich source of comparative study in administrative technique, treatment of the 'native' people, and above all the social, educational and economic characteristics of what forms the sub-title of the work—a plural economy. Mr. Furnivall admirably succeeds in his task of "depicting stage by stage throughout the course of history, the general political and economic environment of Netherlands India, and at tracing in each stage the course of economic progress and the main features of social economy." To the Indian reader the study is not only informative but distinctly stimulating, particularly in the subjects of 'native' schools and Dutch schools, the methods of local government, the racial cleavages, the development of nationalism and communism amongst the sons of the soil, the undercurrent of the rivalry in the course of the European attempts at exploitation of the resources of the country, and last but not least in importance, the arrangements at the plantations run by the government and private capitalists.

Some of the salient features of Dutch colonial rule are worth noting, particularly because in recent years Dutch experiments have been recommended to the notice of India. Till the dawn of the 19th century, except round Batavia, a trading company flying the Dutch flag plied their trade. The story of two centuries of the company's monopoly of trade and the final collapse bear resemblances to the British East India Company's record in India. Mr. Furnivall in discussing why the English Company survived and the Dutch failed, ascribes the cause neither to corruption nor defects in accounts nor the policy of monopoly, but to (a) the Industrial Revolution in England which created a class in the 'mother-country' which wanted to sell goods to the colony

<sup>1</sup> Vide, *The Economist* (London) May 27, 1939.



as well, and (b) the rigid Dutch system of government which did not allow the right of parliamentary scrutiny to penetrate the dark spots of the regime of the Dutch Company. The occasion of the failure of the company was, of course, furnished by the war with England (1781-84), followed by years of confusion until in 1815 the Dutch monarchy took over the colonies. Crown farms with enforced planting of indigo, sugar, and coffee were established and taxes were realised in kind. Till 1870 the system continued with various modifications. In that year the door was opened to private traders, and capitalists could hire land from 'natives' on lease for planting. The era of liberalism did not mean, however, any repudiation of *batig slot*, the surplus revenue to spend in Europe. The twentieth century ushered in a new Imperialism; 'native' welfare became a definite programme of Government; the Outer Provinces began to receive a new attention due to the growing demand for raw materials for Eur-American industrial development.

The political approach also underwent a vital change. The traditional structure of Dutch colonial administration was based on the principle of a plural civil service and administration for the "natives" and Europeans. There were areas which were indirectly ruled through native rulers in state lands, governed according to native customs. In 1903 Idenburg's Decentralization Law set up local councils of Europeans and natives with advisory powers and in 1918 the *volksraad* or representative Parliament for Central Indian affairs was created. Yet true decentralization is yet to come. The author furnishes one explanation of the reluctance to transfer the power of taxation and spending to popular bodies. "The English tradition in government is to maintain law and order, and beyond that to interfere no further than is necessary; the Dutch, with their heritage of Roman law, expect more of government, and the delegation of authority is therefore more difficult, just as only a simple organism can reproduce by fission".



It is only in urban areas that successful and real local government exists and many of the towns are models in several respects. The reason for the grant of powers to these municipalities is that they are mostly run by Europeans for Europeans.

Mr. Furnivall's treatise bears the appropriate sub-title "A Study in Plural Economy". A plural society has been defined as "comprising two or more elements or social orders which live side by side, yet without mingling, in one political unit". They are to be found in dependencies where the rulers and the ruled belong to different races. The native, European and Chinese elements of the population, their economic, educational and administrative problems, and the sectionalism—all present features, analogies of which will appear to every Indian reader's mind. "The fundamental character of the organization of a plural society as a whole is indeed the structure of a factory organized for production, rather than of a state organized for the good life of its members". It should be noted, however, that industrial capitalism has its own method of levelling down differences and in recent years the domination over agricultural and rural interest by urban and industrial interests is becoming more and more marked.

Placed between the Chinese and the European enterpriser and trader, it is remarkable that the natives have been gradually building up their business in spite of the so-called "non-economic" characteristic of the people. On the other hand, the village-system, as developed under successive administrations, under the headman and with the autonomy and self-regulation allowed through village institutions is, to say the least, evidence of Dutch zeal. Though criticised as 'artificial', much of the welfare instructions of the Netherlands Indian Social Economy may well be studied for experimentation and adaptation in British India.

Though Holland's paternalistic administration has a record no worse than that of other countries, new forces

have been released both within the Dutch East Indies as well as outside. The depression reduced the annual value of exports from Netherlands India to even one-fifth of the 1925 level and a rapid progress towards industrialisation is regarded as the only alternative to lessen the dependence on the shifts in world prices of her raw materials. Politically also Netherlands India has reached a critical stage in her development. Netherlands India is no longer a source of profit to the mother country, in fact, Holland is repaying her "Debt of Honour" to the colony by having taken over the debts of Netherlands India: still the bureaucracy-ridden country finds herself with unbalanced and meagre budgets. The new Constitution of 1927 has been somewhat still-born and nationalism in the colonies is tinged by racial as well as Moslem antipathy. Professor Bousquet of the University of Algiers published a book from Paris a few months ago which reveals how nationalist agitation and political reform in Netherlands India are closely intertwined with Moslem aspirations. British Indian events have played a great part in shaping the nationalist movement in these islands. The native population, homogeneous in culture and religion, is free from caste. The women "are even freer than in Buddhist Burma". The result has been the gradual drift towards extremism, all the politically-minded elements aiming at "breaking loose from the Netherlands". Holland at last is facing economic and political issues, which sooner or later has had to be faced by all Imperial countries. Lord Hailey's "African Survey" and the British Colonial Office Report (1938) tell how the British people have tackled and intend to tackle similar problems. There can be no doubt that a new technique of imperialism suitable to a 'phase of contracting capitalism' (to use Professor Laski's expressive phrase) is gradually emerging in the colonial empires of western nations.

Mr. Furnivall's treatise is not only a learned and exhaustive study of a neighbouring colony of another European country, but is a distinct contribution to the

knowledge of the student of comparative administration and economics. Not only in the past, but even to-day by a curious irony of circumstances, the problem of Netherlands India is in more than one respect similar to and comparable with analogous developments in British India. Here is another instance to prove that the study of Greater India cannot be concerned with the past only, but must relate to the present and also the future, where closer and natural politico-economic links are sure to be forged between India and her neighbours.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEE

**Concepts of Buddhism:**—By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.L. Published by the Kern Institute, Leiden, 1937.

It is refreshing to go through Dr. B. C. Law's *Concepts of Buddhism*, dealing, as it does in a terse style, with the principal concepts of Pali Buddhism. Throughout all the writings of Dr. Law, one cannot but be impressed with the indefatigable industry bestowed by him on putting together all the available materials and focussing them on particular topics. We appreciate his work of this nature which, as it appears to our mind, is to leave the reader free to form his own opinion about a particular topic. The present work is no exception to his usual method and thoroughness. The one desideratum which every modern student of Buddhism will miss is that Dr. Law confines his attention wholly to the Pali literature and never turns to the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna, nor takes notice of the contributions made by distinguished writers of the present day. His undue reliance on Buddhaghosa has made his interpretations in several instances traditional, e.g. his comments on the word '*tathāgata*', his exposition of the '*ariyasaccas*' and the '*paṭicca-*

*samuppāda*'. But we thank him for the amount of energy devoted by him for bringing together the traditional interpretations of 'Dhamma' and 'Nibbāna'. It is unfortunate that Dr. Law avoids giving any definite opinion about the controversial issues. It is, however, interesting to note that the author<sup>1</sup> holds that 'dhamma' according to Buddha is 'nibbāna' while it is 'swarga' according to Asoka (p. 76). In Chapter II, the author deals with "Pāramitā" and remarks that "references (to Pāramitā) are scattered here and there in the Pali Nikāyas" (p. 9). We are afraid that this remark is not sufficiently cautious, for "pāramitā" does not occur either in the *Aṅgutta-Nikāya* or the *Saṅgīti-suttanta* where these should have found a place in any event, not to speak of any other Nikāya. The "Pāramitā" doctrine is originally non-Theravāda and it is a later development. He refers to the only Mahāyānic treatise *Śraddhotpāda-sūtra* the originality of which is still a matter of controversy and has not a word about the voluminous Mahāyānic literature on *prajñā-pāramitā*. We do not quite follow Dr. Law when he says that the "ariyasaccas are regarded as quintessence of Buddhism". The *ariyasaccas* are universally accepted and there is nothing particularly Buddhistic in the formulæ. All that it stands for is how to approach a problem and find out its solution. We do not quite follow him as also does Prof. Keith (see p. viii) when he says "jhāna is the main point in the Noble Eightfold path" instead of *sammā-diṭṭhi*. In the chapter on *Jhānas*, Dr. Law regards "the five *jhānas* a somewhat later classification which had developed out of the four *jhānas*". The classification of *jhānas* into four or five is not of much importance. The first two *jhānas* are sometimes expanded into three thus: (i) *Savitakka-savicāra*, (ii) *sa-vitakka-avicāra* and (iii) *avitakka-avicāra*. The *jhānas* have been dealt with by Dr. N. Dutt and Mons. Lounsbury exhaustively in their writings on Buddhist medi-

1 See in this connection p. 33 in which the opinion attributed to Dr. N. Dutt is gratuitous.

tation (Vide *I.H.Q.* Vol. XI, pp. 710-740 and *La Meditation Bouddhique*, Paris, 1935). The treatment of the *jhānas*, I am afraid, lacks a grasp of the subject on the part of the author. Scholars have so far failed to agree about the Buddhist conception of *Puggala*, so Dr. Law has done well in presenting the important discussions found in the Pāli texts. Profs. Stcherbatsky and la Vallée Poussin have devoted long discussions to the subject and the author has not a word to say about their opinions. He gives his own idea of the Buddhist conception of *Puggala* which is that there is no soul and rebirth is "the continuity of an impulse". As the author's object is mainly to explain the concepts of Buddhism, we must say that he has acquitted himself well of his task and the book will serve as a very useful handbook to our students of Pāli and Ancient Indian culture.

D.

**The Bhadramāyākāravākarāṇa**, INTRODUCTION, TIBETAN TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES—By Konstanty Régamey. The Warsaw Society of Sciences and Letters. Publications of the Oriental Commission, No. 3.

The Warsaw Society of Sciences and Letters is rendering a substantial service to the study of ancient Indian culture by publishing rare Buddhist texts. The present one is the second one of this series, the first being three chapters from *Samādhirāja sūtra*. Dr. Régamey points out the importance of the Ratnakūṭa collection of Mahāyāna-sūtras and intends to publish the texts of this collection gradually. This is undoubtedly a laudable ambition and we hope the author will have time, patience and due encouragement and support to carry out such an arduous task. It is really unfortunate that the Sanskrit originals of 43 out of 49 texts of this collection are lost unless some chance discovery like that of Gilgit MSS. in Kashmir or of Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana in Tibet brings them to light. Dr. Régamey is perhaps not aware that the Naigai-shuppen-Kaisha (Printing Press),



Kyoto, (Japan), has published an edition of the Tibetan text of *Śrīmālādevī-siṃhanāda-sūtra* and *Ratnacandrapariṣcchā*.

The treatise belongs to the Vyākaraṇa class, as it foretells the future of Bhadra. The Buddhist texts, specially the Mahāyānic, abound in similar anecdotes and parables to establish that the world around us has no more existence than the things produced by a magician by magical tricks, and this idea has been well-expressed from the texts by Dr. Régamey in these words (p. 7): "The enjoyments and gains of all beings are created by the *māyā* of *kaṛman*, this order of monks is created by the *māyā* of *dharma*; I (Buddha) am created by the *māyā* of *jñāna*, the *trisahasra-mahāsahasra-loka*dhātu is created by the *māyā* of *Viśvā-bhiniṣṛtti* and all the *dharma*s are created by the *māyā* of *pratyayasambhāra*". Incidentally the question of soul is discussed and the qualities of Bodhisattvas are dilated upon. The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* style of mentioning the qualities of a Bodhisattva is interesting.

The author's restoration of Sanskrit words from Tibetan is happy and has added much to the value of the text. The English language suffers from the defects unavoidable by a foreigner, e. g. *inreality* for *unreality*, *allocution* for *elocution*, *inexistent* for *non-existent*, but that can detract from the value of the book. Dr. Régamey has indeed accomplished a laudable task and we wish he would continue his work in this line with unabated zeal.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

**SUVARNADVĪPA**, Part II—*Cultural History* (Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Vol. II). By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. xiv + 354 pp., Index, and Plates (Nos. I-LXXV), Calcutta, 1938.

With the publication of the present volume the learned author has advanced a step further towards the completion of his laudable project of giving a comprehensive survey of Hindu cultural expansion in South-Eastern Asia.



We notice here the same qualities that have distinguished his earlier works in that series, an easy and flowing style, a readiness to utilise the labours of the best and most up-to-date authorities, complete references and a full and adequate description of topics under well-arranged heads.

Of the two Parts into which the present work is divided, the first and the smaller portion (Book V) bears the title 'Culture and Civilisation in Suvarṇadvīpa'. (Q. Why this duplication of the same word and why the exclusion of Art from the purview of culture and its consideration under a separate heading?). This portion has separate chapters on 'Law,' 'Economic Condition,' 'Society,' 'Literature' and 'Religion'. In the first chapter, Dr. M., after a preliminary enumeration of the law-books of Java and Bali, gives a detailed account of one of them (*Kuṭāra-mānava-śāstra*), comparing some of the leading provisions of the Javanese law with their counterparts in the Sanskrit *smṛtis*. For the sake of completeness of the comparison, it would have been better, if Dr. M. had also taken into consideration the corresponding provisions of the law in Kauṭilya's (or Kauṭalya's) chapter called *Dharmasthīyam*. On the subject of slavery, Dr. M. (p. 17) observes that the four classes of slaves mentioned in the Javanese work above mentioned closely follow Manu. This is hardly accurate, as Manu's list extends up to seven classes, including besides the above, the *kṛita*, the *datrima*, and the *paitra*. In connection with this point, Dr. M. observes that the Javanese law as regards emancipation of slaves is more liberal. If he had referred to Kauṭilya's work, he would have found that it *does* allow (Jolly and Schmidt's edition, p. 107) the self-sold slave, the born slave, and the pledged slave to purchase freedom. What is more, it prescribes a fine for neglecting to liberate the slave after payment of his ransom. Even the Nārada *smṛti*, to which Dr. M. refers, lays down<sup>1</sup> that a

1 For references see the writer's paper *Slavery in Ancient India*, Calcutta Review, 1925.

slave who rescues his master's life from grave peril is forthwith delivered from servitude. For the Javanese law that when a master married a female slave, their children inherited the property of the father if the latter had no children by wives of equal birth, Dr. M. could have found a distant parallel in Yājñavalkya (II, 134), which says that a Śūdra's son by a female slave gets a half share of the inheritance when there are legitimate sons, and a full share where there are no such sons and no daughter's sons.

In the chapter on 'Economic Condition', Dr. M. gives a luminous account of the foreign trade of the countries included in his title 'Suvarṇadvīpa', from Fa-Hien's time downwards. If he had utilised the numerous Old-Javanese inscriptions (of which we understand a *Corpus* is going to be published by Mr. H. B. Sarkar of the Dacca University in a short time), he could have given us almost equally full descriptions of the agriculture and industries of the countries concerned. Even the list of exports given in many of the foreign accounts utilised by him would have helped him to fill this gap.

In the chapter on Society, after premising that the Indian caste-system, as described in the *Manu-saṃhitā*, prevails in its essential features even to-day among the Balinese, Dr. M. thinks (p. 44) that the few recorded notices of ancient Java and neighbouring lands are not inconsistent with such conditions. It is difficult to reconcile this statement with Dr. M.'s hesitation (p. 40) to accept the references to the caste-system in Java, etc. as anything but a theoretical division, and still more with his positive contention (p. 49) that a large section of the people of Java was still at the last period of Hindu culture outside the pale of that civilisation. Dr. M.'s case for the close parallel between ancient Javanese and modern Balinese societies would have gained in weight, if he had given actual instances from ancient times of such institutions as *anuloma* marriage and the existence of Vaiśyas and Śūdras as separate castes. While on this subject, Dr. M. commits

himself to the statements for which it would be well to have his authorities, that polygamy was prevalent on a large scale in India, and that widow-remarriage was all but unknown in that country.

The chapter on Literature under its sub-headings of Javanese, Balinese, and Malayan, gives us a very useful and comprehensive survey of the subject which it treats. It is, however, unfortunate that Dr. M. should have considered it beyond his scope to enter into a discussion not only of the qualities of this literature as a whole, but even of such outstanding works as the Javanese versions of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, the Javanese historical works and chronicles and so forth.

The chapter on Religion deals separately with Java, Bali and other parts of Malaysia, ending with a good appendix on the religious literature in Java. Dr. M. prefers to stick to the now generally disused expression "Pauranic form of Brahmanical Hinduism," although it is a fact that what is called the Pauranic Trinity is referred to as early as in Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad (IV, 5—6; V, 2) while its more sectarian forms are mentioned even in the Rāmāyaṇa (VI, 106, 19) and the Mahābhārata (III, 272. 46). Dr. M.'s treatment of the Javanese types of Brahmanical deities might have been enriched by comparison with their Indian prototypes from the point of view of general conceptions as well as iconography. The same remark applies *mutatis mutandis* to his description of rituals and *mantras* for Sūrya and Viṣṇu which he has industriously compiled from the writings of two Dutch authorities. While on this subject, Dr. M. justly draws attention to the predominance of Śaivism in Java, but we miss an explanation of a phenomenon of such outstanding importance. The description of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Java is good so far as it goes, but we could have expected a fuller treatment of the influence of Buddhism from Bengal to which he just refers. The list of Śivite sects culled from texts and inscriptions could have been compared with those mentioned in the

Śaiva *agamas*. In particular, the author could have discussed the probable identity of the Bhairava sect of Java with the Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas of India. Dr. M. contrasts the later (Tāntric) form of Buddhism in Java with the earlier by saying that Tāntrism at its best sought to attain by supernatural or magical practices in this life such spiritual bliss as original Buddhism sought to acquire by a series of rebirths. The distinctive characteristic of Theravāda Buddhism, however, is that it enjoins a progressive course of discipline beginning with *śīla* and passing through various stages of *jhāna* and *paññā* to the stage of the passionless *arahat*. It is again difficult to accept the author's view (p. 123) that the last phase of Mahāyāna consists of syncretism of different Hindu and Buddhist gods.

The second and larger section of the present work called 'Art in Suvarṇadvīpa' consists of eleven chapters, bearing the titles 'The Architecture of Central Java,' 'Sculpture of Central Java,' 'The Architecture of Eastern Java,' 'Sculpture of Eastern Java,' 'Bronze Sculptures,' 'Art in Bali,' 'Art in Sumatra,' 'Art in Borneo,' 'Art in Malay Peninsula,' 'Art in Other Islands,' and 'General Review of the Art of Suvarṇadvīpa.' These chapters contain by far the most exhaustive account of the Art of Malaysia that we have in the English language, and accompanied as they are by a series of seventy-five plates selected with rare judgment, they constitute the most useful portion of this work. We, however, find it difficult to follow the author in his contention (p. 346) that the common source of the architecture and sculpture of these regions is to be found in the Gupta art. The influence of the Amarāvati school upon certain phases of early 'Śrīvijaya' sculpture to which pointed attention has been drawn in recent years (N. J. Krom, *Ann. Bibl. of Ind. Arch.* 1931, pp. 29-33; *JGIS.*, Vol. I, pp. 31 ff; Vol. III, pp. 50 ff.) rests on good grounds. In this connection it is interesting to note that Dr. M. observes (p. 351) that South India exercised no influence of any importance upon Malaysian art generally

till the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. This completely ignores the arguments for implying South-Indian influence on certain Sumatran and Malayan sculptures which have been advanced in previous numbers of this Journal. (See *JGIS*, Vol. I, pp. 33 ff, and Vol. III, pp. 54 ff. and the references given there). Dr. M. justifies his position by pointing to the close similarity of Gupta and early Javanese temples as regards plan, roof and decoration. Not to speak of the remarkable plans of Caṇḍi Sevu and Caṇḍi Loro Jongrang and above all of Borobudur, it would be interesting to ask for Gupta prototypes of *Kalastas* in such early temples as Caṇḍi Arjuna and Caṇḍi Pavon. While on this subject, we can not but regret that the author (p. 351) has considered it beyond his scope to trace in detail the influence of later phases of Indian art (such as Pāla and Coḷa) upon the art of Suvarṇadvīpa. We thus altogether miss a consideration of the place of the unique Paharpur temple in the evolution of Malaysian art.

We have noticed a few mis-prints which may be corrected in a later edition :—*dhvaja-hṛta* (p. 17), *Raghunandan* (p. 44), *manner* (p. 47), *its* (p. 74).

We cannot conclude without congratulating the learned author on his producing a work which should be indispensable to all English-knowing readers who are interested in the culture of Greater India.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**Uittreksel uit de Oudheidkundige Verslagen over 1931-35, Batavia, 1938.**

In 1930 and 1931, the reconstruction-activity of the Archaeological Department of the Dutch East-Indies was projected on the temple-complex of Prambanan. In the latter year, the principal *caṇḍis* of the temple-groups of Gedong Songo were successfully restored. As regards European antiquities, there was inventarisaton and maintenance of the company's country-houses in Batavia, Bantam,

Banda Archipelago, Manado, Sumatra and Bali. A very important discovery in Bali was the casting mould of bronze kettle-drum. Prehistoric explorations at Sampung in East-Java ended this year, but the inventarisisation of neolithic work-shops in the district of Punung in East-Java continued. An inscription was found at Kandat (Kediri), while two images with inscriptions were found in the regency of Tulungagung.

Reconstruction-activity at Prambanan continued throughout the following year and the Southern main temple was completely restored in 1932. The most important discovery of 1932 was the Śiva-image, 1 m in height, found in Kali Wadas, 6 km to the South-West of Tegal. This is said to be the biggest of the bronze images so far discovered in Java. Some Mohammedan monuments in Cheribon were also restored this year.

In 1933 the reconstruction-activity at Prambanan provisionally ended with the Northern main temple. The most important find of 1933 is the bronze Buddha image from desa Sempaga on the west coast of Celebes. The writer thinks it to be a "product of the Buddhistic Art-school, which, in the first centuries after Christ, developed at Amaravati in S. India, and that it belongs to the oldest remains from the Hindu period so far discovered in the Archipelago." Dr. Van Stein Callenfels undertook prehistoric explorations in Celebes, which made it possible for him to further define the Southern boundary of Philippine-Minahassi culture. In the Dutch Indies proto-neolithicum is found for the first time in Galumpang. European antiquities received scant attention for want of funds.

In 1934 and 1935, there were minor restoration-activities at Prambanan. In the former year some inscriptions were found at Palembang. In 1935 some incised gold plates were found at desa Sidomulya. In this year arrangements were also made to ascertain the "colonial style" in architecture from 1750-1850.

H. B. SARKAR



**Een Oudheidkundig Jubileum, 1913-1938, Batavia, 1938.**

The present Jubilee number of the Archaeological Department of Netherlands India is a very opportune publication and gives us a succinct review of the fruitful activities of the Department conducted in close co-operation with the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. The Department has done excellent work in the domain of excavation, conservation, reconstruction, restoration, inventarisation, publication, etc. In 1912 appeared the *Oudheidkundige Verslagen* which was continued from 1913-'30, 1936, 1937; in the series of reports appeared *Inventaris der Hindoe-oudheden* (1914, 1915, 1923). In 1925 a new series commenced with the *Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst* of which part I has been issued. Besides, the *Hommage*, a Journal devoted to prehistorica, appeared in 1932. Not the least important are the articles by members of the staff, which have been published in *TBG*, *BKI*, etc. Numerous projects of restoration and reconstruction were undertaken and carried out between 1913 and 1938. The following deserve special mention: the Nāga-temple and the Date-temple of Panataran (1917-18), Caṇḍi Sawentar (1921), Plumbangan (1921), Caṇḍi Badut (1926), Caṇḍi Ngawen (1926-27), Caṇḍi Sewu (1928), Caṇḍi Kalasan (1929), Caṇḍi Sari (1930), Caṇḍi Singhasari (1937). The reconstruction of the main temple of the Loro Jonggrang-complex at Prambanan continued for more than 10 years. Prehistoric, Muslim and European antiquities have not also been neglected.

H. B. SARKAR

## Comment and Criticism

### NEW CATALOGUS CATALOGORUM (PROVISIONAL FASCICULUS).

#### I

In Mr. Shiva Prasad Bhattacharya's review of the New Catalogus Catalogorum of the University of Madras, published in the journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. VI, No. 1 of January, 1939, there are some criticisms which I may be permitted to answer.

i) The reviewer remarks about 'unnecessary duplication (e. g. *Akṣobhyatīrtha*, etc.) which in several cases are *verbatim* reprints from Aufrecht's work,' and which, the reviewer suggests, could 'easily have been dispensed with.' I beg to draw the attention of the reviewer to our preface where our undertaking has been described as a work of *bringing up-to-date* Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum and not one of merely supplementing it. The advantage of bringing out an up-to-date revision of Aufrecht's work is to remove the necessity for the old catalogue.

ii) The alleged mispagination of pages 9-16 is not borne out by an examination of a number of copies in our office.

iii) We are thankful for the correction, Mm. Gananath Sen for Mm. Ganganath Sen.

iv) Regarding misprints in general, it is necessary to point out that the fasciculus issued was *provisional* in nature and was got ready in haste last December for distribution at the All-India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum.

v). The workers are not suffering from any tendency to overburden the work with entries of works of questionable value, or of unimportant works of particular provinces. There is a slight difference of opinion on the question of entering modern works and it is to elicit the general opinion of the world of scholars that such entries were introduced. Including the reviewer, only three scholars have

expressed their view that such works had better be excluded. No partiality for any particular province was, however, responsible for the entries of some of the unimportant works mentioned by the reviewer. On this and the previous question, it was thought fit to incorporate in our catalogue the entries in the British Museum and India Office Catalogues of Sanskrit Printed Books.

vi). Incorporation of works and authors known through citations alone is receiving its proper share of attention.

vii). Regarding the spelling of Angirākalpa and Angirāprī, which the reviewer would emend into Angiraḥkalpa (?) and Angiraḥāprī (?) I may be permitted to remark that dictionaries permit the forms—Angiras, Angira and Angirā.

viii). The reviewer's criticism of Akālabhāskara seems unnecessary, since the expression, intercalary months, as used in Sanskrit-English Dictionaries and by modern writers in English on Smṛti, is sufficiently expressive of periods unfit for rites.

ix). We would like to learn from the reviewer what co-ordination he means, and what he means by imagining expression of partisan spirit under Agnismṛti or Agastya-saṃhitā.

x). Regarding the final suggestion of the reviewer, we might inform him that thanks to the courtesy of many scholars the Catalogus Catalogorum Office does have a wide circle of scholars to co-operate in the work.

Any help which the reviewer could give, will be thankfully received and acknowledged by the office.

V. RAGHAVAN

## II

Dr. V. Raghavan, a member of the Board of Editors of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, published by the University of Madras, has tried to answer some of the criticisms offered by me in my review of the work in *JGIS*, Vol. VI,

No. 1. Items i-iv and vi-vii of his reply call for no comment, as he apparently does not underestimate the importance of my suggestions. With regard to items v and ix, I do not see why he should think otherwise. The editors of an encyclopædic reference work like the present one should be on their guard lest they join any side in discussions which are still not closed. The safest course would be to state the views and let the world of scholars draw the legitimate inference. The attempt to explain away item No. vii is feeble and unconvincing. To take intercalary months as equivalent to or embracing all kinds of impurities is a course which the orthodox *smṛti* scholar would hesitate to accept. We welcome the assurance that incorporation of references in works not known but quoted, is receiving its proper share of attention, and we hope this will be consistently complied with. If the Board of Editors think that all scholarly and provincial interests are well represented in their scheme, we have nothing further to say. What I suggested was that the important MSS. in different provincial scripts should preferably be referred to those that are intimately familiar with those scripts, so as to avoid all chances of error. Let us hope that the Board has undertaken its stupendous task with thorough sense of its responsibility and is prompted by the sole consideration of advancement of learning.

SHIVA PRASAD BHATTACHARYA

[*The controversy is closed*—Ed.]

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

**Bijdragen tot de taal—, land—en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie**, dl. 98, afl. I and II, 1939.

*Studien zur geschichte des Śivaismus: die Sivaitischen systeme in der altjavanischen literatur. I.* by A Zieseniss.—In this very important paper the author has recognised the importance of data in Old-Javanese literature for reconstructing the history of Śaivism, and has taken great pains to discover the systems of Śaivism represented in such works as *Bhuvanaḥśā*, *Bhuvanasaṅkṣepa*, *Tattva sang hyang Mahajñāna*, etc. So far as Java is concerned, it throws a flood of light on the subject.

**Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land-en Volkenkunde**, dl. 79, afl. I-II, 1939.

1. *Two silver plate grants from the Bataiva Museum* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—The author edits two charters preserved in the Museum of Batavia. The one was issued by Vijayarāghava of Tanjore in 1658, conferring trading rights and privileges on the Dutch Company. This charter is written in Telugu. The other charter, written in Tamil, was issued in 1676, when Ekoji confirmed the previous grant of Vijayarāghava.

2. *Note on cultural relations between South-India and Java* by W. F. Stutterheim—Amongst other things the author offers a new interpretation of a much-debated couplet in the Canggal inscription and seeks to identify the Kuñjara-kuñjadesa of the charter with the Kēdu-plains or a part of them.

3. *Een bijzettingsbeeld van Koning Rājasa?* by W. F. Stutterheim—The writer supposes the image no. 143/18509 at the Leiden Royal Museum for Ethnology to be an apotheosized figure of king Rājasa, the founder of the dynasty of Singhasāri.

**Djawa, 19, 1939**

*Een bronzen stūpa* by W. F. Stutterheim—The writer describes a bronze stūpa in the collection of Resink-Wilkens. It contains 21 *pajungs* (umbrellas) and is supposed to date from the eighth century A. D. It has some resemblance with the stūpa of Bědulu in Bali.

**Djawa 1938, No. 6.**

*De Beelden van Belahan* by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim.

On the basis of some discoveries connected with Belahan Stutterheim identifies the Viṣṇu-image of Belahan with the apotheosised king Airlangga and recognises in two other images the queens of the said king, one of whom, Śrī Saṅgrāma-vijayadharmaprasādotuṅgadevī, was so far recognised to be the daughter of the king.

**Djawa 1939, No. 1.**

(1) *Bima als Goeroe* by H. Overbeck.

The author has gathered some data on the nature of the Bhīma-cult from Javanese *lakon*-literature.

(2) *Eenige opmerkingen over de wayang-koelit-voorstelling* by A. J. Resink-Wilkens.

The author describes his observations on the arrangement of male and female seats in *wayang-kulit* shows, and discusses in that connexion the views of Drs. Poerbatjaraka and Rassers. According to the author, men and women formerly sat on the shadow-side of the *kělir*.

(3) *Een Bronzen Poepoedak* by W. F. Stutterheim.

Stutterheim describes a bronze case, in which occurs the representation of a love-scene between Arjuna and two celestial nymphs.

(4) *Volksoverlevering in beeld* by J. H. Hooykaas—van Leeuwen Boomkamp.

The paper discusses folk-tradition in the portraiture at Jogja, under four heads: (1) *Wayang*-stories, (2) husband and wife series, (3) Muslim representation, (4) Non-Muslim representation.



**Bijdragen tot de taal—, land-en Volkenkunde van het  
Nederlandsch Indië, 97, afl. 4, 1938.**

*Inscripties van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde te  
Leiden* by F. H. van Naerssen.

The author edits 3 unpublished copper-plate inscriptions  
of the Rijksmuseum, bearing nos. 3338, 3339 and 3340.  
Nos. 3338 and 3339 belong to the same series; no. 3340  
belongs to the time of Balitung and is dated 932 S.E.

H. B. SARKAR

**Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. (N.F. 14 Jahrg., 2/3 heft)**

*The Antiquity of the Buddha-Image: The Cult of the Buddha.*  
By O. C. GANGOOLY.

No lack of technical skill or creative genius, but an indirect  
injunction prevented native artists of India from rendering  
Buddha's personality in adequate plastic forms. Even  
after Buddha's image became current in Indian Buddhist  
art, the canonical and artistic convention of omitting  
his figure continued for some time. The earliest surviv-  
ing text sanctioning image-worship was very probably  
composed some time during the first part of 1st century  
B.C. The earliest monumental example of Buddha image  
in Gandhara school must be dated some time in 1st cen-  
tury B.C. The available evidence, literary or monumen-  
tal does not permit fixing the earliest date of the Buddha  
image.

**(N. F. 14 Jahrg., 4/5 heft).**

*Zur Geschichte der Chinesischen Plastik vom VIII-XIV  
Jahrhundert.* By L. BACHHOFFER.

*Untersuchungen z. mittelalterlichen Kunstgeschichte Ostur-  
kestans.* By HEIMO RAU.

*Streiflichter auf die Entwicklung des Bauplans chinesischer  
buddhistischer Kloster in ihrem Verhältnis zum buddhis-  
tischen Kultus.* By Prip-Møller.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

*The Greater India Society* acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the following books, periodicals, pamphlets, etc. during the last six months.

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